

VESTIGES ET SURVIVANCES DU DROIT PHÉNICO-PUNIQUE*

Les seuls textes législatifs d'origine phénico-punique que nous ait légués l'Antiquité sont les «tarifs sacrificiels» de Carthage et les traités internationaux préservés en akkadien ou en grec. Les deux «tarifs sacrificiels» connus, auxquels on peut ajouter quelques fragments du même genre, sont établis par «les trente hommes préposés aux redevances»¹. Ils déterminent, pour chaque sorte de sacrifice, les taxes en argent, la part du prêtre et celle de l'offrant². Ces documents relèvent de la réglementation des pratiques cultuelles aux environs du III^e siècle av. J.-C. Les deux traités internationaux dont on possède une version partielle sont ceux du roi Asarhaddon d'Assyrie (680-669 av. J.-C.) avec Baal I de Tyr, et de Philippe V de Macédoine (221-179 av. J.-C.) avec Hannibal³. Ils font partie d'un vaste ensemble de documents disparus dont on connaît l'existence grâce aux historiographes antiques et à quelques allusions épigraphiques. Les documents de la pratique, si nombreux en Mésopotamie et dans l'Égypte des Lagides, sont totalement défaut, mais diverses sources permettent de retrouver des vestiges de la jurisprudence phénico-punique ou d'en déceler une survivance probable, mais imprécise, chez les juristes de l'époque impériale romaine. Le présent exposé, qui vise à donner un aperçu d'ensemble de la documentation, comprend deux parties principales. La première concerne les traités et la seconde, les vestiges ou survivances de la jurisprudence phénico-punique.

* Sigles d'après *L'Année Philologique*; en plus: BA (*Biblical Archaeologist*); BEFAR (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*); CEFR (*Collection de l'École française de Rome*); JNSL (*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*); JSOT (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*); MUSJ (*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*); OLA (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*); ZDPV (*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*).

¹ CIS I 165 = KAI 69; CIS I 167 = KAI 74. Les textes fragmentaires sont CIS I 166 = KAI 76; CIS I 3915, 3916 = KAI 75; CIS I 3917.

² On trouvera une analyse succincte de ces textes, avec la bibliographie antérieure, chez M. DELCOR, *Le tarif de Marseille (CIS I, 165). Aspects du système sacrificiel punique*, *Semitica* 38 (1988 [1990]), p. 87-94, et E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Rites et sacrifices dans la tradition phénico-punique*, dans J. QUAEGBEUR (éd.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East (OLA)*, Leuven (sous presse).

³ Voir ci-dessous, notes 10 et 59.

I. TRAITÉS

Dans l'ancien Proche-Orient, des traités internationaux réglaient les relations non seulement entre souverains de rang égal (traités de parité), mais aussi entre suzerains et vassaux (traités de vassalité). Cet usage diplomatique est attesté également dans les Cités-États de civilisation phénicienne et apparaît plus tard dans le monde gréco-romain. Toutefois, au contraire de la Syrie du Nord et de l'Anatolie, rares sont les traités relatifs aux États phénico-puniques dont le texte même nous soit parvenu. Le plus souvent on ne dispose que de données historiographiques.

1. *Hiram I et Salomon*. Selon I Rois 5 et II Chron. 2, il existait un accord commercial entre Hiram I de Tyr (c. 962-929 av. J.-C.) et le roi Salomon le quel, par ailleurs, aurait vendu à Hiram le territoire de Kabul pour cent vingt talents d'or (I Rois 9.11b-14)⁴. Le centre administratif de cette région, qui comptait une vingtaine de villages, se situait peut-être à *Hirbet ez-Zaitūn*, en hébreu *Horvat Rōš Zayit*, à environ 13 km au sud-est d'Akko et à 1,5 km au nord-est du village arabe de Kabul. La fouille archéologique y a décelé la présence d'un établissement phénicien de l'âge du Fer II qui fut incendié vers le milieu du IX^e siècle⁵. Cette conflagration pourrait être mise en rapport avec le passage des armées assyriennes de Salmanasar III en 841. Les textes bibliques évoquent des échanges épistolaires entre Hiram I et Salomon,

⁴ F.C. FENSHAM, *The Treaty between Solomon and Ahiram, and the Alalakh Tablets*, JBL 79 (1960), p. 59-60; ID., *The Treaty between the Israelites and Tyrians*, dans *Congress Volume, Rome 1968 (Suppl. Vetus Testamentum, 17)*, Leiden 1969, p. 71-87; H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, p. 103-105; B. PECKHAM, *Israel and Phoenicia*, dans F.M. CROSS e.a. (éd.), *Magnalia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God. In memoriam G.E. Wright*, Garden City 1976, p. 224-248; H. DONNER, *The Interdependence of International Affairs and Foreign Policy during the Davidic-Solomonic Period*, dans T. ISHIDA (éd.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon*, Tokyo 1982, p. 205-214; ID., *Israel und Tyrus im Zeitalter Davids und Salomos*, JNSL 10 (1982), p. 43-82; A.R. GREEN, *David's Relations with Hiram*, dans C.L. MEYER – M. O'CONNOR (éd.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth. Essays in honor of D.N. Freedman*, Winona Lake 1983, p. 373-397; J.K. KUAN, *Third Kingdoms 5.1 and Israelite-Tyrian Relations during the Reign of Solomon*, JSOT 46 (1990), p. 31-46. L'historicité de ces relations est mise en doute par E. KNAUF, *King Solomon's Copper Supply*, dans E. LIPÍŃSKI (éd.), *Phoenicia and the Bible (OLA, 44)*, Leuven 1991, p. 167-186.

⁵ Z. GAL, *Horvat Rosh Zayit – A Phoenician Fort in Upper Galilee, Qadmoniot 17* (1984), p. 56-59 (en hébreu); ID., *Cabul, Jiphtah-El and the Boundary between Asher and Zebulun in the Light of Archaeological Evidence*, ZDPV 101 (1985), p. 114-127 (voir p. 122); ID., *Khirbet Roš Zayit – Biblical Cabul: A Historical-Geographical Case*, BA 53 (1990), p. 88-97.

mais il n'en résulte pas que l'on avait alors rédigé des traités proprement dits.

2. *Mariage diplomatique de Jézabel avec Achab*. Le mariage de Jézabel, fille d'Ittobaal I de Tyr (IX^e siècle av. J.-C.), avec Achab, fils du roi Omri d'Israël (I Rois 16.31), se présente comme un mariage diplomatique, pratique bien attestée dans l'histoire du Proche-Orient antique⁶. On ignore toutefois si ce mariage venait sceller des liens fondés sur un vrai traité de parité conclu entre les souverains de Tyr et d'Israël⁷.

3. *Coalitions anti-assyriennes*. La coalition anti-assyrienne qui s'opposa à Salmanasar III en 853, à la bataille de Qarqar, comptait des contingents envoyés par des cités de la Phénicie du Nord⁸. Rien n'indique jusqu'ici que cette alliance était basée sur un traité proprement dit. La même remarque vaut pour les alliances militaires conclues au VII^e siècle entre Abdimilkutti, roi de Sidon, et le roi cilicien Sanduarri, puis entre le roi Baal de Tyr et le pharaon Taharqa⁹.

4. *Traité d'Asarhaddon avec Baal I de Tyr*. On possède, en revanche, le traité de vassalité imposé c. 675-670 par Asarhaddon au même Baal I de Tyr. Ce traité limitait la liberté d'action des Tyriens, tout en reconnaissant implicitement le rôle irremplaçable de leur flotte marchande¹⁰.

⁶ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Aram et Israël du X^e au VIII^e siècle av. n.è.*, *AAnt Hung* 27 (1979 [1981]), p. 49-102 (voir p. 81-82). La pratique des mariages diplomatiques est attestée au Proche-Orient ancien dès le III^e millénaire av. J.-C. Voir, en particulier, W. RÖLLIG, *Heirat*, dans *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* IV, Berlin-New York 1972-75, p. 282-287; Id., *Politische Heiraten im Alten Orient*, *Saeculum* 25 (1974), p. 11-23; M.G. BIGA, *Matrimoni dinastici nell' antico Vicino Oriente*, *RSO* 51 (1977), p. 1-5; F. PINTORE, *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV-XIII* (*Orientis Antiqui Collectio*, 14), Roma 1978.

⁷ C'était pourtant l'opinion de F.C. FENSHAM, *The Relationship between Phoenicia and Israel during the Reign of Ahab*, dans *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1983, vol. II, p. 589-594.

⁸ On trouvera une traduction des textes pertinents des Annales de Salmanasar III, par exemple, dans J.B. PRITCHARD (éd.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1969³, p. 278-279, ou dans J. BRIEND – M.J. SEUX, *Textes du Proche-Orient ancien et histoire d'Israël*, Paris 1977, p. 86.

⁹ Ces alliances sont évoquées dans des inscriptions d'Asarhaddon rééditées par R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (*AfO*, Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 49-50, 86, 112, et traduites notamment dans J. BRIEND – M.J. SEUX, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 129-131.

¹⁰ La dernière édition translittérée de ce texte original d'un traité de vassalité est celle de S. PARPOLA – K. WATANABE, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (*State Archives of Assyria*, II), Helsinki 1988, n° 5. On mentionnera aussi l'étude de G. PETTINATO, *I rapporti politici di Tiro con l'Assiria alla luce del «trattato tra Asarhaddon e Baal»*, *RStudFen* 3 (1975), p. 145-160.

5. *Traités entre Carthage et les Étrusques*. C'est peu après 650 que des productions étrusques, tels les vases de «bucchero», arrivent à Carthage et impliquent un courant de retour qui amène en Étrurie des produits carthaginois¹¹. Dès la première moitié du VI^e siècle, Carthage conclut une ou plusieurs conventions avec l'Étrurie gouvernée encore par un unique *lucumo* ou avec diverses cités étrusques, situation évoquée par Aristote, *Politique* III 9.6. Dans le domaine militaire, la piraterie des Phocéens d'Alalia provoqua c. 540 une expédition punitive étrusco-carthaginoise¹², qui brisa la puissance maritime des Phocéens d'Alalia. Contrairement à Hérodote I 166-167, ceux-ci n'abandonnèrent toutefois pas la ville, comme le prouvent les fouilles de la nécropole de Casa-bianda et de la cité qui attestent la continuation et l'importance de l'occupation grecque du site jusqu'à l'arrivée des Romains en 259¹³. On a proposé de voir un reflet d'une de ces alliances étrusco-carthaginoises dans la quasi-bilingue de Pyrgi¹⁴, découverte en 1964 dans les ruines du sanctuaire de la déesse étrusque Uni. Il s'agit de trois lamelles d'or inscrites, deux en étrusque¹⁵, une en phénico-punique¹⁶. Elles commé-

¹¹ On consulera à ce sujet M. GRAS, *Trafics tyrrhéniens archaïques* (BEFAR, 258), Rome 1985, ainsi que C. PICARD, *L'essor de Carthage aux VII^e et VI^e siècles*, dans E. LIPÍŃSKI (éd.), *Carthago* (OLA, 26), Leuven 1988, p. 43-50. C'est à la fin du VI^e siècle que remonte, du reste, l'inscription étrusque *mi puinel karthazie* (M. PALLOTTINO, *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*, Firenze 1968², n° 724) «Je suis un Punique de Carthage», gravée sur une plaquette en ivoire, peut-être une «tessère d'hospitalité», trouvée dans une tombe de la nécropole Sainte-Monique à Carthage. Elle a été éditée par E. BENVENISTE, *Notes étrusques* I. La tablette d'ivoire de Carthage, SE 8 (1933), p. 245-249.

¹² M. GRAS, *À propos de la «bataille d'Alalia»*, *Latomus* 31 (1972), p. 698-716; Yu.B. TSIRKIN, *The Battle of Alalia*, *Oikumene* 4 (1983), p. 209-221; M. GRAS, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 393-475; ID., *Marseille, la bataille d'Alalia et Delphes*, *DHA* 13 (1987), p. 161-181; M. GRAS – P. ROUILLARD – J. TEIXIDOR, *L'univers phénicien*, Paris 1989, p. 229-231.

¹³ On trouvera la bibliographie du site chez M. GRAS, *Alalia*, dans *Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche* III, Pisa-Roma 1984, p. 137-145, que l'on complétera notamment du compte-rendu de J. JEHASSE, *Gallia* 43 (1985), p. 380-389, et du guide de L. et J. JEHASSE, *Aléria antique*, nouv. éd., Lyon 1987. Les événements de l'an 259 av. J.-C. sont évoqués par *CIL* I² 32.

¹⁴ J. HEURGON, *Les inscriptions de Pyrgi et l'alliance étrusco-punique des environs de 500 av. J.-C.*, *CRAI* 1965, p. 89-103; J. FERRON, *Un traité d'alliance entre Caere et Carthage*, dans *ANRW* I 1, Berlin-New York 1972, p. 189-216 et pl. 1-3; cf. S. CATALDI, *I primi symbola tra le città etrusche e Cartagine*, *ASNP* 4 (1974), p. 1235-1248.

¹⁵ M. PALLOTTINO, *op. cit.* (n. 11), n° 874.

¹⁶ J.C.L. GIBSON, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* III. *Phoenician Inscriptions*, Oxford 1982, n° 42, p. 151-159, avec la bibliographie antérieure. Pour le contexte culturel, voir, en outre, M. VERZÀR, *Pyrgi e l'Afrodite di Cipro*, *MEFR* 92 (1980), p. 35-86; G. COLONNA, *Novità sui culti di Pyrgi*, *RPAA*, 3^e série, 57 (1984-85), p. 57-88; F.O. HVIDBERG-HANSEN, *The Pyrgi Texts in an East-West Perspective*, *Acta Hyperborea* 1 (1988),

morent la consécration d'un lieu de culte à Astarté par Tibérie Vélianas, roi de Caere c. 500 av. J.-C. Ces lamelles, qui prouvent l'assimilation d'Uni à Astarté, ont suscité un débat portant notamment sur le rapport entre le texte étrusque et le texte phénico-punique, selon lequel la consécration du lieu saint a eu lieu «le jour de l'ensevelissement de la divinité». On songe à Melqart plutôt qu'à Adonis, vu son association récurrente à Astarté dans le milieu colonial, tout comme à Tyr, où Héraklès est encore nommé avec Leukothéa dans une inscription grecque d'époque sévérienne¹⁷, et vu l'iconographie des temples de Pyrgi, qui contenaient des représentations de type hérakléen¹⁸. Le couple phénico-punique d'Astarté-Melqart correspondrait ainsi à Pyrgi à celui d'Uni-Tin. Quant aux implications politiques d'un culte voué à Astarté par un roi étrusque, elles ne sont pas évidentes, mais pourraient effectivement témoigner de l'existence d'un traité étrusco-carthaginois. Par ailleurs, il est vraisemblable que le pillage du sanctuaire de Pyrgi par Denys I de Syracuse en 384/3¹⁹, qui ne lui rapporta pas moins de 1.500 talents, avait un lien avec les plans anti-carthaginois de Denys²⁰.

6. *Traité entre Carthage et Xerxès I.* Entre 483 et 481, Carthage conclut une alliance anti-grecque avec Xerxès I²¹. Il n'y a nulle raison de douter de l'historicité de ce traité, vu les relations existant entre le métropole africaine et les cités phéniciennes de l'Empire achéménide, lesquelles prêtaient main-forte aux Perses lors des guerres médiques.

7. *Traités entre les Carthaginois et les Grecs de Sicile.* Les guerres de Sicile donnèrent lieu à divers traités. La campagne d'Hamilcar en 480 se termina par un traité avec Gélon, le tyran de Géla et de Syracuse²².

p. 58-68; F. COARELLI, *Il Foro Boario dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, Roma 1988, p. 328-363.

¹⁷ M. CHÉHAB, *Tyr à l'époque romaine*, dans *MUSJ* 38 (1962), p. 11-40 et pl. I-IX (voir p. 18 et pl. V,1).

¹⁸ G. COLONNA, *La dea di Pyrgi: bilancio aggiornato dei dati archeologici*, dans *Die Göttin von Pyrgi*, Firenze 1981, p. 13-34 (voir p. 25); F. MELIS, dans *Santuari d'Etruria*, Milano 1985, p. 133.

¹⁹ Strabon, *Géogr.* V 2.8.

²⁰ Diodore de Sicile, *Bibl. hist.* XV 14.4.

²¹ H. BENGTSOHN, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums II. Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v.Chr.* (cité plus loin *StV II*), München 1975², n° 129. Cf. W. HUSS, *Geschichte der Karthager (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, III 8)*, München 1985, p. 98-99.

²² *StV II*, n° 131. Ce sont les Anciens de Carthage qui sollicitent un traité de paix après la défaite et la mort d'Hamilcar. Celui-ci n'avait donc pas de successeur «dynastique» et n'était par conséquent qu'un suffète ou un général, comme on l'admet communément, malgré le titre de βασιλεύς qui lui donne Hérodote VII 165-167. Ce terme

Denys I de Syracuse conclut un traité de paix avec Carthage en 408²³, puis en 392²⁴ et en 374/3²⁵. En 341, la coalition anti-carthaginoise des cités siciliennes²⁶ vit Markos de Catane et Hikétas de Leontinoi s'allier aux Carthaginois²⁷, que les échecs amenèrent toutefois à signer la paix avec Timoléon de Syracuse, probablement en 339²⁸. Une éphémère alliance anti-carthaginoise fut conclue en 309 entre Agathocle de Syracuse et Ophellas de Cyrène²⁹, mais l'insuccès de l'expédition syracusaine contre Carthage aboutit à un traité entre celle-ci et les troupes d'Agathocle, en 307³⁰, puis à un traité de paix avec Agathocle lui-même en 306³¹. Enfin, en 264, au cours de la première guerre punique, un accord fut conclu entre les Carthaginois et Hiéron II de Syracuse³².

8. *Traité entre Carthage et Athènes*. D'après une inscription trouvée à Athènes, celle-ci chercha en 406 à conclure un accord avec Hannibal et Himilcon qui assiégeaient alors Agrigente. L'état très fragmentaire du texte ne permet pas de s'en faire une idée exacte, mais la découverte même de l'inscription témoigne de l'existence effective du traité³³, dont les historiographes classiques n'ont conservé aucun souvenir. Les contacts qui eurent alors lieu entre les Carthaginois et les Athéniens

grec ne recouvre pas en l'occurrence le mot phénico-punique *milk* «roi», comme l'ont proposé J. BELOCH, *Die Könige von Karthago*, *Klio* 7 (1906), p. 19-26, et G.Ch. PICARD, *Le pouvoir suprême à Carthage*, dans E. LIPÍŃSKI (éd.), *Carthago* (OLA, 26), Leuven 1988, p. 119-124. Cf. M. SZNYCER, dans C. NICOLET (éd.), *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen* II, Paris 1978, p. 565-566; W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 93-99 et 458-461. Il n'en reste pas moins vrai que Hamilcar devint un héros quasiment mythique, comme le suggèrent le récit d'Hérodote et le sacrifice offert en 409 par Hannibal le Magonide aux mânes de son ancêtre Hamilcar, selon Diodore XIII 62.4.

²³ *StV* II, n° 210. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 122-123.

²⁴ *StV* II, n° 233. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

²⁵ *StV* II, n° 261. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 139-140.

²⁶ *StV* II, n° 338.

²⁷ *StV* II, n° 341.

²⁸ *StV* II, n° 344. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 165-166.

²⁹ H.H. SCHMIDT, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* III. *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v.Chr.* (cité plus loin *StV* III), München 1969, n° 432. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

³⁰ *StV* III, n° 436.

³¹ *StV* III, n° 437. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 200-202.

³² Diodore de Sicile, *Bibl. hist.* XXIII 1.2. Le principal protagoniste du côté carthaginois était Hannon, fils d'Hannibal, dont le rôle dans les événements des années 264-262 et 258-256 a été étudié spécialement par O. MELTZER, *Geschichte der Karthager* I, Berlin 1879, p. 260-264, 273-275, 286-287, 290-294, 563, 569, et W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 50, 161-165, 178 n. 10, 496 n. 4, 499.

³³ *IG* I³ 123 = *StV* II, n° 208. Cf. R. VATTUONE, *L'alleanza fra Atene e Cartagine alla fine del V sec. a.Cr.*, *Epigraphica* 39 (1977), p. 41-50; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 117-118.

sont peut-être à l'origine de la connaissance qu'avait Aristote (384-322 av. J.-C.) de la Constitution de Carthage. On sait que les institutions politiques de Carthage jouissaient d'un grand prestige chez les auteurs grecs et latins³⁴, mais Aristote est le seul écrivain antique dont on ait conservé une description quelque peu détaillée de la Constitution de Carthage dans le livre II de sa *Politique* (chap. 11). C'est la seule Constitution non-grecque que le Stagirite ait incluse dans la série des modèles proposés. Elle aurait contenu les meilleures institutions de chacun des trois systèmes politiques: monarchique (suffétat), aristocratique (Sénat), démocratique (assemblée du peuple). L'image qu'Aristote en donne correspond vraisemblablement aux institutions carthaginoises de la fin du V^e siècle ou de la première moitié du IV^e siècle et les indications plus tardives, contenues dans le livre V de sa *Politique*, en diffèrent déjà à certains égards. Rappelons qu'un certain Hippagoras aurait aussi traité de la Constitution de Carthage³⁵ et Polybe (VI 51-52) lui accorde quelque attention.

9. *Traités entre Carthage et Rome.* Entre la première moitié du V^e siècle et 306, Carthage conclut avec Rome cinq traités d'alliance. Le texte original du premier traité³⁶, gravé sur une table en bronze, était encore conservé à l'époque de Polybe (II 26.1) dans le trésor des édiles près du temple de Jupiter Capitolin. L'usage de graver le texte des traités sur des tables de bronze remonte au II^e millénaire, comme l'attestent les trouvailles récentes de Boghazköy, le site de l'ancienne capitale hittite³⁷. Le second traité, conclu en 348³⁸, associe solidairement Carthage à Tyr et à Utique. Il fut suivi d'un troisième traité, lequel, conformément à Tite-Live VII 38.2, devait remonter à 343³⁹. C'est de 306 que daterait le quatrième traité, le traité dit de Philinos⁴⁰,

³⁴ Voir Polybe VI 52.1-2.

³⁵ Athénée, *Deipn.* XIV 27a.

³⁶ *StV* II, n° 121. Cf. H. ADAMCZYK, *Kartagina a Rzym przed wojnami punickimi*, Wrocław 1978, p. 27-52; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 86-92; P.A. BARCELÓ, *Karthago und die iberische Halbinsel vor den Barkiden* (*Antiquitas*, Reihe 1. *Abhandlungen zur Alten Geschichte*, 37), Bonn 1988, p. 86-96.

³⁷ H. OTTEN, *Die Bronzetafel aus Boğazköy. Ein Staatsvertrag Tuthalijas IV. (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 1)*, Wiesbaden 1988; ID., *Die 1986 in Boğazköy gefundene Bronzetafel* (*Innsbrücker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft. Vorträge und kleinere Schriften*, 42), Innsbruck 1989, p. 7-20.

³⁸ *StV* II, n° 326. Cf. H. ADAMCZYK, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 53-68; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 149-155; P.A. BARCELÓ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 133-143.

³⁹ W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 167-168.

⁴⁰ *StV* III, n° 438. Cf. K. MEISTER, *Der sogenannte Philinos-Vertrag*, *RFIC* 98 (1970), p. 408-423; H. ADAMCZYK, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 69-84; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 204-206;

tandis que le cinquième traité, conclu en 279/8, était dirigé contre Pyrrhus⁴¹. En outre, il convient de mentionner les pourparlers de paix entre Romains et Carthaginois au cours de l'hiver 256/5⁴², les conditions de la capitulation de Palerme en 254⁴³, l'accord conclu en 247 entre Rome et Carthage concernant l'échange des prisonniers de guerre⁴⁴, le traité de paix de l'an 241⁴⁵ qui mettait un terme à la première guerre punique, les capitulations de l'an 238/7 qui livraient la Sardaigne aux Romains⁴⁶, le traité signé en 226/5 entre Rome et Hasdrubal⁴⁷, qui s'engageait à ne pas franchir l'Èbre⁴⁸, l'accord conclu en 217 entre Q. Fabius Maximus et Hannibal concernant l'échange des prisonniers⁴⁹, les conditions de la capitulation d'unités romaines après la bataille de Cannes⁵⁰ et le siège de Casilinum⁵¹, ainsi que les clauses des traités de 203/2 et 202/1 qui mettaient fin à la deuxième guerre punique⁵².

10. *Traité conclus par Hannibal*. Vers le début de la deuxième guerre punique, Hannibal conclut un accord avec des tribus gauloises⁵³. Après la bataille de Cannes, en 216, il signa plusieurs traités avec des cités d'Italie, comme Capoue⁵⁴, Nuceria, Acerrae⁵⁵, Locres⁵⁶, puis avec

B.D. HOYOS, *Treaties True and False. The Error of Philinus of Agrigentum*, CQ 35 (1985), p. 92-109. P.A. BARCELÓ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 140, note toutefois: «Mit Recht wird an der Historizität des sogenannten Philinos-Vertrages von 306 v. Chr. heute kaum noch gezweifelt».

⁴¹ StV III, n° 466. Cf. P. LÉVÊQUE, *Pyrrhos* (BEFAR, 185), Paris 1957, p. 409-420; H. ADAMCZYK, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 85-103; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 210-211; A.J. HAISSERER, *Polybius 3.25.4* («An Alliance concerning Pyrrhus»), *Gerión* 3 (1985), p. 125-139.

⁴² StV III, n° 483.

⁴³ StV III, n° 484.

⁴⁴ StV III, n° 488.

⁴⁵ StV III, n° 493. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 249-251.

⁴⁶ StV III, n° 497. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 266-268.

⁴⁷ StV III, n° 503. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 277-278; P. BARCELÓ, *Beobachtungen zur Entstehung der barkidischen Herrschaft in Hispanien*, dans H. DEVIJVER – E. LIPÍŃSKI (éd.), *Punic Wars* (OLA, 33), Leuven 1989, p. 167-184, en particulier p. 178-182.

⁴⁸ Les hypothèses identifiant le fleuve Ἰβηρ/*Hiberus* des sources classiques au Júcar ou bien au Segura, situés au sud de l'Èbre, sont des subterfuges que l'on n'acceptera pas facilement en bonne méthode. Les difficultés posées par les textes doivent être résolues de manière différente, en tenant compte de la nature littéraire des sources historiographiques.

⁴⁹ StV III, n° 521.

⁵⁰ StV III, n° 522.

⁵¹ StV III, n° 526.

⁵² StV III, n° 548. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 412-424.

⁵³ StV III, n° 519.

⁵⁴ StV III, n° 524.

⁵⁵ StV III, n° 525.

⁵⁶ StV III, n° 527.

Tarente⁵⁷ et les Lucaniens⁵⁸. Par ailleurs, il conclut en 215 une alliance militaire avec Philippe V de Macédoine⁵⁹, dont le libellé, le «Serment d'Hannibal» transmis par Polybe (VII 9.1-9), reflète encore, par sa structure et ses sémitismes, l'original phénicien du traité qui conduisit à la première guerre de Macédoine (215-205). La paix de Phoenikè, en 205, mit fin à l'état de guerre entre Philippe et les Romains⁶⁰, mais signifia, en même temps, la rupture de l'alliance conclue avec Hannibal en 215. Par ailleurs, un traité éphémère fut passé en 214 par Hiéronymos de Syracuse avec les Carthaginois⁶¹, mais sa mort, la même année, fut suivie d'une nouvelle alliance entre Syracuse et Rome⁶².

11. *Traités chypriotes*. La liste des vassaux chypriotes d'Asarhaddon, reprise dans les inscriptions d'Assurbanipal⁶³, implique l'existence de traités de vassalité conclus par les roitelets chypriotes avec les rois d'Assyrie. Au VII^e siècle, au moins deux de ces princes, ceux de la Carthage de Chypre et de Salamine, étaient de souche phénicienne⁶⁴. Plus tard, bien que Salamine de Chypre ait été une cité où la population grecque était prépondérante, l'alliance conclue en 390 par Évagoras I avec Athènes⁶⁵, puis avec le pharaon Achoris⁶⁶, peut témoigner du rôle que les traités devaient jouer dans les relations internationales des dynastes chypriotes en général.

12. *Accord de Gadès avec les Romains*. En 206/5, la cité de Gadès conclut un accord avec les Romains et, d'après les sources latines, effectua une *deditio*, c'est-à-dire une remise à la discrétion des Romains de l'ensemble de sa population et de ses biens⁶⁷. En effet, la décision romaine de détruire complètement Carthage, en 146, contraste avec

⁵⁷ *StV* III, n° 531.

⁵⁸ *StV* III, n° 532.

⁵⁹ *StV* III, n° 528. Cf. E.J. BICKERMAN, *An Oath of Hannibal*, *TAPhA* 75 (1944), p. 87-102; Id., *Hannibal's Covenant*, *AJPh* 73 (1952), p. 1-23; M.-L. BARRÉ, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia*, Baltimore-London 1983; W. HUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 341-344.

⁶⁰ *StV* III, n° 543.

⁶¹ *StV* III, n° 529.

⁶² *StV* III, n° 530.

⁶³ R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 60, ll. 63-71; M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 7)*, Leipzig 1916, vol. II, p. 140.

⁶⁴ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *The Cypriot Vassals of Esarhaddon*, dans M. COGAN – I. EPH^{ca}AL (éd.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography presented to Hayim Tadmor (Scripta Hierosolymitana, 33)*, Jerusalem 1991, p. 58-64 (voir p. 59-60 et 61-62).

⁶⁵ *StV* II, n° 234.

⁶⁶ *StV* II, n° 237.

⁶⁷ *StV* III, n° 541.

l'attitude de Rome vis-à-vis des cités phénico-puniques qui s'étaient distancées de la métropole africaine. Par le *foedus* conclu avec Gadès et renouvelé en 78 av. J.-C.⁶⁸, Rome avait établi avec cette cité une relation réciproque de clémence, de protection, de modération. Effectivement, Gadès, au II^e siècle av. J.-C., garde une autonomie théorique et reste un grand centre commercial et religieux. Au I^{er} siècle, ses liens avec Rome se resserrent, notamment sous l'influence des Cornélii Balbi, et elle devient municipes romain grâce à César⁶⁹.

13. *Traités entre Carthage et les rois numides*. On ignore à quelle époque s'organisèrent les royaumes numides des Masaesyles et des Massyles que les auteurs classiques font connaître dans leurs récits de la deuxième guerre punique⁷⁰, qui marque l'entrée de la Numidie dans l'histoire proprement dite. Il ne fait pas de doute que deux royaumes numides coexistaient à la fin du III^e siècle av. J.-C. avec pour rois, respectivement, Syphax chez les Masaesyles et Gaia chez les Massyles. Leur suzeraineté s'étendait également sur des cités côtières. En tout cas, en 206, le port de Siga, à l'embouchure de la Tafna, appartenait à Syphax⁷¹ et, en 205, Thapsus Rusicade était au mains du roi des Massyles⁷². Ces états étaient déjà de longue date en contact suivi avec les Puniques et subissaient l'influence de la culture matérielle, de la religion et de la langue de Carthage, utilisée dans les légendes des monnaies numides dès la fin du III^e siècle. Le silence d'un Pseudo-Skylax au IV^e siècle tient probablement à sa route maritime et à ses escales, où le navigateur rencontrait les Puniques des comptoirs locaux, vivant en symbiose avec les princes indigènes⁷³. Du reste, ces Numides ne se distinguaient des Carthaginois ni physiquement ni culturellement. L'interpénétration des Libyques et des Puniques était grande, comme

⁶⁸ Cicéron, *Pro Balbo* 15.34, 16.35, 17.38.

⁶⁹ Tite-Live, *Périochè* CX; Pline, *Hist. Nat.* IV 119; Dion Cassius, *Hist. rom.* XLI 24.1.

⁷⁰ On trouvera une synthèse récente, par exemple, chez J. DESANGES, *L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbère*, dans C. NICOLET (éd.), *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen II*, Paris 1978, p. 627-656, et chez M.R. ALFÖLDI, *Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger*, dans H.G. HORN – Chr.B. RÜGER (éd.), *Die Numider*, Köln-Bonn 1979, p. 43-74; F. DECRET – M. FANTAR, *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1981, p. 68-139.

⁷¹ Tite-Live, *Hist. rom.* XXVIII 17.

⁷² *Ibid.* XXIX 30; cf. Vibius Sequester, *Flumina*, s.v. *Thapsus*.

⁷³ Le Pseudo-Skylax semble du reste utiliser ici une source archaïque dont la toponymie est antérieure à celle des auteurs classiques; cf. J. DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (CEFR, 38), Rome 1978, p. 103-110.

l'indique la généalogie des Carthaginois appelés *Lby* ou *Lbt*⁷⁴ et comme le suggèrent les nombreuses alliances matrimoniales entre aristocrates carthaginois et chefs numides. Déjà au temps de la guerre des mercenaires, Hamilcar Barca promet une de ses filles au prince numide Naravas⁷⁵. Oezalcès, frère de Gaia, eut pour femme une nièce d'Hannibal⁷⁶ et Sophonisbe dut pour des raisons diplomatiques épouser Syphax, après avoir été promise à Massinissa I⁷⁷. Et ce dernier donna une de ses filles à un Carthaginois⁷⁸. La langue officielle et religieuse des royaumes numides aux III^e-II^e siècles était du reste le punique, cependant que le suffétat caractérisait le système d'administration municipale, sans qu'on puisse prétendre que l'identité des titres recouvrait nécessairement les mêmes fonctions. La religion elle-même n'échappait point à cette fusion des mondes libyco-berbère et sémitique, comme le montre le culte de Baal Hamon et de Tanit, notamment au sanctuaire d'El-Hofra à Constantine⁷⁹, de même que celui de Bonchor, une des sept divinités libyques du bas-relief de Béja⁸⁰, dont le nom en fait un dieu auxiliaire de Melqart. Une même interaction se manifeste dans le culte des morts, qu'illustrent les pratiques funéraires et la disposition des monuments sépulcraux. Cette assimilation des influences et des valeurs carthaginoises ne gênait pas les options pro-romaines de certains souverains numides. Ainsi, l'unification de la Numidie sous Massinissa I⁸¹,

⁷⁴ F.L. BENZ, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl, 8), Roma 1972, p. 133 et 337-338.

⁷⁵ Polybe, *Hist.* I 78.8.

⁷⁶ Tite-Live, *Hist. rom.* XXIX 29.12.

⁷⁷ Les auteurs classiques rapportent à ce sujet une légende dont il est difficile de délimiter le fond de vérité historique: Diodore de Sicile, *Bibl. hist.* XXVII 7; Appien, *Guerre d'Ibérie* 37; *Guerre de Libye* 27-28; Zonaras, *Épitomé d'histoire universelle* IX 11; Tite-Live, *Hist. rom.* XXIX 23.4, XXX 12.10-15.10. Cf. *RE* XIV 2 (1930), col. 2156-2157; IIIA 1 (1927), col. 1099-1100; T. KOTULA, *Masynissa*, Warszawa 1976, p. 48-53; I. TOPPANI, *Una regina da ritrovare: Sofonisba e il suo tragico destino*, *AIV* 136 (1977-78), p. 561-578.

⁷⁸ Appien, *Guerre de Libye* 93; Orose, *Hist. contre les païens* IV 22.8.

⁷⁹ Ceci résulte des inscriptions publiées par A. BERTHIER - R. CHARLIER, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra à Constantine*, Paris 1952-55, et M. SZNYCER - F. BERTRANDY, *Stèles puniques de Constantine*, Paris 1987.

⁸⁰ A. MERLIN, *Divinités indigènes sur un bas-relief romain de Tunisie*, *CRAI* 1947, p. 355-371; J.G. FÉVRIER, *BAC* 1946-49, p. 649-652; G. CAMPS, *L'inscription de Béja et le problème des Dii Mauri*, *RAf* 98 (1954), p. 233-260; M. BENABOU, *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*, Paris 1976, p. 296-301; G. CAMPS, *Qui sont les Dii Mauri?*, *AntAfr* 26 (1990), p. 131-153.

⁸¹ W. SCHUR, dans *RE* XIV 2 (1930), col. 2154-2165; G. CAMPS, *Aux origines de la Berbérie. Massinissa ou le début de l'histoire*, Alger 1961; H. VOLKMANN, dans *Der Kleine*

allié aux Romains, se fit au dépens de Syphax, dont l'engagement pro-carthaginois lors de la deuxième guerre punique entraîna la disparition de son royaume sous son fils Vermina⁸². Carthage conclut des traités avec les rois numides. Le plus ancien accord connu est celui qu'elle passa en 205/4 avec le roi Syphax⁸³. Vers l'an 200, un traité conclu avec Massinissa I aplanit provisoirement les différents territoriaux⁸⁴.

14. *Cités fédérées*. À l'époque romaine, certaines cités amies de Rome lui étaient liées par un *foedus*⁸⁵. C'était le cas de Leptis Magna, à partir de la guerre contre Jugurtha⁸⁶, et peut-être celui de Volubilis, à dater de l'interrègne de 33-25 av. J.-C.⁸⁷. Les cités fédérées reçurent plus tard le statut de municipe et réussirent à concilier ainsi le bénéfice de la *civitas Romana* avec leur forte originalité culturelle phénico-punique⁸⁸.

II. JURISPRUDENCE

Si les documents phénico-puniques de la pratique font complètement défaut, en revanche, un tiers du *Digeste* de Justinien, avec les décisions des plus fameux jurisconsultes romains, est tiré des écrits d'Ulpien de Tyr (c. 170-228)⁸⁹. Or, celui-ci provenait d'une famille établie à Tyr de longue date et était proche des empereurs Septime-Sévère, originaire de

Pauly III (1969), col. 1068-1070; G. HAFNER, *Das Bildnis des Massinissa*, AA 1970, p. 412-421; T. KOTULA, *op. cit.* (n. 77); F. DECRET – M. FANTAR, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 99-139; W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 398-447.

⁸² Sur Vermina, en punique *Wrmdn*, on peut voir St. GSELL, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* III, Paris 1918, p. 195-196, 251-252, 265, 282-285, 305; J. MAZARD, *Corpus nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955, p. 21-22; H.G. HORN – Chr.B. RÜGER, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 50-51, 188-191.

⁸³ *StV* III, n° 546.

⁸⁴ Appien, *Guerre de Libye* 67.

⁸⁵ Sur cette notion de droit romain, on peut voir notamment P. CATALANO, *Linee del sistema sovranazionale romano* I, Torino 1965; P. BOYANCÉ, *Études sur la religion romaine* (CEFR, 11), Rome 1972, p. 91-152.

⁸⁶ Salluste, *Guerre de Jugurtha* 77: «amicitiam societatemque rogatum». Ce statut privilégié lui fut accordé, en 111 av. J.-C., semble-t-il, mais il fut supprimé par César en 46 av. J.-C.: *Guerre d'Afrique* 97.3.

⁸⁷ J. GASCOU, *Volubilis, cité fédérée*, MEFR 92 (1980), p. 329-345.

⁸⁸ J. GASCOU, *La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère* (CEFR, 8), Rome 1972, p. 53-54.

⁸⁹ Sur Ulpien, on peut consulter W. KUNKEL, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*, Weimar 1952, p. 245-254; G. CRIFÒ, *Ulpiano. Esperienze e responsabilità del giurista*, dans ANRW II 15, Berlin-New York 1976, p. 708-789; T. HONORÉ, *Ulpian*, Oxford 1982.

Leptis Magna, et Alexandre-Sévère, né en Phénicie⁹⁰; il donnait aussi son avis sur des questions de droit phénico-punique en admettant, par exemple, la validité d'une *verborum obligatio* ou convention orale contractée dans la langue punique⁹¹. Il est donc possible que la jurisprudence orientale, à laquelle devait se rattacher le droit phénico-punique, ait marqué de son empreinte les avis d'Ulpien, comme ceux de Papinien, qui était d'origine probablement syrienne ou nord-africaine⁹², ainsi que ceux de la fameuse école de droit romain fondée à Beyrouth au III^e siècle ap. J.-C.⁹³ Il est significatif, par ailleurs, que des juristes natifs des villes puniques ou punicisées aient contribué plus que d'autres au développement du droit romain. On mentionnera, en particulier, l'activité de P. Pactumeius Clemens de Constantine (II^e siècle ap. J.-C.)⁹⁴, de L. Octavius Cornelius Salvius Julianus d'Hadrumète (c. 100 - c. 169)⁹⁵ et de son disciple S. Caecilius Africanus de Thuburbo Minus⁹⁶, puis celle d'Aemilius Macer (II^e-III^e siècle ap. J.-C.)⁹⁷, d'origine numide tout comme ses contemporains, les jurisconsultes Q. Vetidius Juvenalis de Thubursicu Numidorum (Khamissa)⁹⁸ et Q.

⁹⁰ L'excellente monographie de T. KOTULA, *Septymiusz Sewerus. Cesarz z Lepcis Magna*, Wrocław 1987, p. 138-139, souligne que l'origine orientale des grands jurisconsultes romains n'est pas l'effet d'un hasard, pas plus que le prestige de l'École de droit de Beyrouth.

⁹¹ *Digeste* XLV 1.1.6; cf. XXXII 11.

⁹² Sur Papinien, voir W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 224-229; V. GIUFFRÈ, *Papiniano: fra tradizione ed innovazione*, dans *ANRW* II 15, Berlin-New York 1976, p. 632-666.

⁹³ P. COLLINET, *L'histoire de l'École de droit de Beyrouth*, Paris 1925. On y enseignait notamment les *Institutes* de Gaius; cf. F. SCHULZ, *History of Roman Legal Science*, Oxford 1946, p. 275.

⁹⁴ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 154-157. Il est connu également par l'inscription *CIL* VIII 7059 = H. DESSAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin 1892-1916, n° 1067. L'importance des jurisconsultes originaires des anciens territoires puniques ou punicisés est justement soulignée par P. CSILLAG, *Der Beitrag der afrikanischen Juristen zum römischen Recht*, dans *Afrika und Rom*, Halle-Wittenberg 1968, p. 173-187; ID., *I giuristi d'origine africana nell'impero romano*, *Alba Regia* 10 (1969), p. 184-187.

⁹⁵ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 157-166; E. BUND, *Salvus Iulianus, Leben und Werk*, dans *ANRW* II 15, Berlin-New York 1976, p. 408-454. Le personnage est connu notamment par deux inscriptions nord-africaines, l'une de Thuburbo Maius, l'autre de l'antique Puppūt: Z.B. BEN ABDALLAH, *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du Musée du Bardo* (*CEFR*, 92), Rome 1986, n° 339 p. 127-128 et n° 417 p. 167-168.

⁹⁶ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 172-173; A. WACKE, *Dig. 19,2,33: Afrikas Verhältnis zu Julian und die Haftung für höhere Gewalt*, dans *ANRW* II 15, Berlin-New York 1976, p. 455-496.

⁹⁷ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 256-257. Le nom théophore de *Macer*, fort répandu chez les Numides, a été assimilé au nom latin d'assonance semblable.

⁹⁸ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 265-266. Le personnage est connu par deux inscriptions nord-africaines: St. GSELL, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie I*, Paris 1922, n° 1236 et n° 1362 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 7742c.

Numidicus Amator⁹⁹. La survivance du droit public punique en Afrique romaine, du moins dans les cités suffétales¹⁰⁰, ne fait du reste pas de doute. On peut supposer à fortiori qu'il en allait de même pour le droit privé, qui réglait les relations au sein de la société.

Certes, la structure de la société phénico-punique nous est mal connue, mais elle devait ressembler à celle de la cité d'Assur à l'époque paléo-assyrienne¹⁰¹ et celle de la *polis* grecque, en raison même du fractionnement du territoire et des activités exercées dans chaque cité. Les rois (*mlk*) phéniciens, même s'ils remplissaient une fonction sacrée, jouissaient d'une autorité limitée par celle de grands rois assyriens, babyloniens ou perses dont ils étaient les vassaux, mais aussi par celle des pairs du royaume qui étaient sans doute de riches armateurs et marchands. Ce sont eux, avec les grands propriétaires fonciers, qui constituaient aussi le milieu dont étaient issus les suffètes de Carthage, les membres du Sénat, les dignitaires (*rb*, *rab*) et, bien entendu, les puissantes familles des Magonides et des Barcides. Richesse¹⁰², ascen-

⁹⁹ W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.*, p. 266. Cette liste n'est certainement pas exhaustive. Il faut sans doute la compléter du nom de L. Gargilius Praetorianus de Cuicul: *ibid.*, p. 266; cf. p. 347-349.

¹⁰⁰ Les cités suffétales étaient administrées par deux, parfois trois suffètes, et leur administration municipale ressemblait par conséquent à celle de la Carthage punique. À l'époque de l'Empire romain, on connaît en Afrique du Nord encore une trentaine de cités suffétales, dont certaines continuèrent à être gouvernées par des suffètes jusqu'en plein II^e siècle ap. J.-C. Ceux-ci furent remplacés ensuite par des duumvirs ou des triumvirs, dont les titres représentent surtout une latinisation de l'ancien titre punique. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, ces cités suffétales sont Althiburos, Apisa Maius et Apisa Minus, Aradi, Avitta Bibba, Biracsaccar, Calama, Capsa, Curubis, Gadiaufala, Gales, Leptis Magna, Limisa, Maktar, Masculula, Henshir Oulad Slim, Siagu, Sucubi, Tepelte, Thaca, Themebra, Thibica, Thimiliga, Thinissut, Henshir el-Aouine près d'Oudna, Dougga, Volubilis, Utique. Cf. C. POINSSOT, *Karthago* 10 (1959), p. 125; T. KOTULA, *Remarques sur les traditions puniques dans la constitution des villes de l'Afrique romaine*, *African Bulletin* 17 (1972), p. 9-28; G.Ch. PICARD, *Une survivance du droit public punique en Afrique romaine: les cités suffétales*, dans *I diritti locali nelle provincie romane* (*Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Quaderno* 194), Roma 1974, p. 125-133. Il est évident qu'il faut également tenir compte de l'organisation municipale des «cités pérégrines» d'Afrique du Nord, qui s'administraient selon leurs anciennes lois et coutumes locales.

¹⁰¹ On pourra se référer, en particulier, à M.T. LARSEN, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies (Mesopotamia, 4)*, Copenhagen 1976. Pour la Carthage punique, on pourra consulter G.-G. LAPEYRE – A. PELLEGRIN, *Carthage punique*, Paris 1942, p. 172-176; F. DECRET – M. FANTAR, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 224-242; G.Ch. et C. PICARD, *La vie quotidienne à Carthage au temps d'Hannibal*, Paris 1982², p. 55-134; W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 496-503; Ju.B. TSIRKIN, *Carthage and the Problem of «polis»*, *RStudFen* 14 (1986), p. 129-141. Pour la Phénicie, on consultera la dissertation de A. HAMDEH, *Die sozialen Strukturen im Phönizien des ersten Jahrtausends v.Chr.*, Univ. Würzburg 1985.

¹⁰² Aristote, *Politique* II 11.

dance distinguée¹⁰³, accumulation de fonctions¹⁰⁴, voilà les traits caractéristiques de la haute société carthaginoise. Les simples citoyens de plein droit (*b'l*), qui faisaient partie de l'assemblée du peuple, constituaient une classe sociale dont faisaient partie fonctionnaires, prêtres, boutiquiers, artisans, agriculteurs libres. Entre eux et les esclaves, il y avait une couche sociale d'affranchis et de personnes engagées pour dettes, dont la liberté de mouvement et d'action était limitée. La position sociale et juridique des serviteurs de grandes maisons, tant en Phénicie que dans le monde punique, devait dépendre de leur fonction et de leur degré de spécialisation. Certains d'entre eux devaient être esclaves, personnes qui ne se trouvaient pas nécessairement au bas de l'échelle sociale, puisqu'elles pouvaient se marier légalement¹⁰⁵ et disposaient d'un pécule dont elles se servaient éventuellement pour payer une stèle¹⁰⁶. Le nombre d'esclaves était élevé à Cathage, bien que les chiffres fournis par les auteurs anciens soient exagérés. Un grand nombre d'entre eux devaient être des prisonniers de guerre¹⁰⁷, mais il existait d'autres sources d'approvisionnement. Certains appartenaient aux particuliers et étaient astreints aux travaux des champs et de la ville. D'autres étaient la propriété de l'État, de la Cité ou des temples. Un nombre relativement élevé d'étrangers, de *metoikoi*, habitaient aussi Carthage, surtout des Grecs, mais les Numides et les Libyens devaient être également nombreux. Certains travaillaient peut-être comme ouvriers à gage.

Vu les rapports complexes qui devaient exister au sein de cette société, on ne peut que regretter davantage que les sources phénico-puniques soient si pauvres en données juridiques. Des inscriptions (néo)puniques pourraient faire allusion au testament¹⁰⁸ et à la pratique tant du gage personnel que de la déportation des débiteurs insolvables par décision de l'assemblée du peuple. C'est du moins ce que suggère la formule $x^1 \text{ 'š } \dot{s}dn$ bd (*'dny*) $x^2 lm y'ms 'm qrthdšt$, souvent abrégée¹⁰⁹, si on la traduit

¹⁰³ CIS I 3778 = KAI 78.

¹⁰⁴ Aristote, *Politique* II 11.

¹⁰⁵ Plaute, *Casina* 67-77.

¹⁰⁶ CIS I 236, 318-320, 3785, etc.

¹⁰⁷ Diodore de Sicile, *Bibl. hist.* XX 69.5.

¹⁰⁸ KAI 166.4. Cf. J.G. FÉVRIER, *Textes puniques et néopuniques relatifs aux testaments*, *Semitica* 11 (1961), p. 3-8.

¹⁰⁹ CIS I 269-275, 280-281, 291-292, 4908-4909; cf. M.G. GUZZO AMADASI, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente* (*Studi Semitici*, 28), Roma 1967, Sard. 36.11, et l'emploi du mot *sidin* dans une inscription latine de l'Afrique du Nord: M. LE GLAY, *Nouveaux documents, nouveaux points de vue sur Saturne africain*, dans

«un(e) tel(le), qui est un gage dans la main (de son maître) un tel, afin que le peuple de Carthage ne (le/la) déporte pas». Il n'est pas facile de préciser le sens de ces mentions du «peuple de Carthage» et de les concilier avec les témoignages de Tite-Live: l'administration de la justice à Carthage aurait été une prérogative des suffètes¹¹⁰, bien qu'il y ait eu un puissant *ordo iudicum*¹¹¹, auquel Aristote pourrait aussi se référer¹¹². Comme Tite-Live semble affirmer par ailleurs que les suffètes rendaient tous les jours la justice en public¹¹³, il est possible qu'il les ait confondus avec les juges (*špt*).

Des vestiges tardifs du droit phénico-punique pourraient encore se retrouver dans les Tablettes Albertini, découvertes en 1928 sur les confins algéro-tunisiens, dans une région située à environ cent kilomètres au sud de Tébessa et à soixante-cinq kilomètres à l'ouest de Gafsa. Il s'agit d'un lot de trente-quatre documents juridiques écrits en cursive latine sur quarante-cinq tablettes de bois. Ils représentent une partie des archives privées de quatre familles du temps des Vandales et sont datés des années 493-496 ap. J.-C. Ces tablettes, éditées en 1952 par Chr. Courtois, L. Leschi, Ch. Perrat et Ch. Saumagne¹¹⁴, contiennent des clauses constantes, qui donnent à penser que les scribes latins ont utilisé un formulaire antérieur. Ch. Saumagne, auquel est due l'analyse juridique des documents¹¹⁵, en a reconstitué la formule type¹¹⁶, dans laquelle il distingue les éléments suivants: 1) le protocole comportant la date; 2) le contrat d'*emptio-venditio*, à savoir d'abord la *venditio*, avec la mention de l'iden-

E. LIPÍŃSKI (éd.), *Carthago* (OLA, 26), Leuven 1988, p. 187-237 (voir p. 198-199). On notera aussi le nom féminin *Siddina* (cf. ci-dessous, n. 137), dont le sens premier devait être «gage personnel». Nous avons examiné cette formule dans *BO* 45 (1988), col. 80-81. Le terme *bd* y signifie que la personne est «en mainprise».

¹¹⁰ Tite-Live, *Hist. rom.* XXXIV 61.15.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXXIII 46.1.

¹¹² Aristote, *Politique* III 1.7.

¹¹³ Tite-Live, *Hist. rom.* XXXIV 61.14-15.

¹¹⁴ Chr. COURTOIS – L. LESCHI – Ch. PERRAT – Ch. SAUMAGNE, *Tablettes Albertini. Actes privés de l'époque vandale*, Paris 1952. On se reportera aussi aux études de J. CARCOPINO, *Les Tablettes Albertini*, *JS* 1952, p. 145-169; A. GRENIER, *Les archives d'un notaire africain du temps vandale*, *REA* 54 (1952), p. 343-348; A. PEZZANA, *Osservazioni sulle «Tablettes Albertini»*, *AG* 144 (1953), p. 15-57; J. DE MALAFOSSE, *Notes sur les Tablettes Albertini: les stipulations de garantie*, *RD* 1953, p. 110-120; J. LAMBERT, *Les «Tablettes Albertini»*, *RAf* 97 (1953), p. 196-225; M. PALLASSE, *Les «Tablettes Albertini» intéressent-elles le colonat romain du Bas-Empire?*, *RD* 1955, p. 267-281. Nous tenons à remercier ici M. Abdelmajid ENNABLI, Conservateur du site de Carthage, qui nous a facilité l'utilisation commode de cette documentation au Musée National à Carthage.

¹¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 81-187.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81-87.

tité et du consentement du vendeur, ainsi que la détermination de l'objet, puis l'*emptio*, avec la mention parallèle de l'objet de l'achat, de l'identité et du consentement de l'acheteur, ainsi que du prix convenu; 3) le constat de l'exécution des obligations de l'acheteur, à savoir le paiement du prix contre quittance, et de celles du vendeur, c'est-à-dire la *translatio iuris*; 4) la stipulation de garantie; 5) l'eschatocole.

Ce formulaire, dont on retrouve des parallèles en Europe aux âges mérovingien et carolingien, se rattache en fait aux documents proche-orientaux de la pratique du droit, telle qu'elle est attestée notamment par les papyrus araméens de l'époque perse achéménide¹¹⁷. C'est particulièrement clair dans les stipulations relatives au transfert du droit et aux garanties consenties par le vendeur à l'acheteur¹¹⁸. Cette partie du formulaire peut être reconstituée, avec Ch. Saumagne, de la manière suivante:

...ut habeat, teneat, possideat, utatur, fruatur ipse heredesve eius in perpetuum et si quis de suprascripta re de qua agitur cum omni iure ad se pertinente mentionem quaestionem facere vel interdicere voluerit aut suam esse dixerit suiue iuris probaverit dum evinci res queperit (coeperit), tunc dabit tantum pretium et alterum tantum...

«...afin qu'il l'ait, tienne, possède, en use, en jouisse, lui-même ou ses héritiers, à perpétuité. Et si quelqu'un, au sujet de la chose susdite dont il est question, avec tout le droit qui se rattache à elle, tentait de soulever un litige ou d'agir par interdit, ou la revendiquait et exhibait un titre attestant qu'il a droit sur elle, à condition qu'il y ait eu commencement d'éviction, alors il devra donner le double du prix...»

On comparera utilement ce passage du formulaire des Tablettes Albertini avec les clauses parallèles d'un des contrats araméens d'Éléphantine, daté du 14 septembre 437 av. J.-C. Il porte sur l'achat d'une maison¹¹⁹:

«...nous te (l')avons vendue et donnée, et nous nous en sommes dessaisis à partir de ce jour et pour toujours. Toi, Ananyah fils de Azaryah, tu as droit sur cette maison, ainsi que tes enfants après toi et

¹¹⁷ Pour ces papyrus, on peut consulter, par exemple, R. YARON, *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri*, Oxford 1961, p. 79-92 («The Law of Property»).

¹¹⁸ L'origine sémitique de la formulation de ces clauses a déjà été reconnue par N. LEWIS, *ICS 3* (1978), p. 100-115, et dans *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri*, Jerusalem 1989, p. 15.

¹¹⁹ B. PORTEN – A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2. *Contracts*, Jerusalem 1989, B3.4, ll. 10-21. On a suivi la traduction de P. GRELOT, *Documents araméens d'Égypte (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient, 5)*, Paris 1972, p. 217-219, légèrement retouchée d'après R. YARON, *ksp zwz, L'Ésonénu 31* (1966-67), p. 287-288 (en hébreu).

celui à qui tu veux la donner. Nous ne pourrons pas t'intenter procès ni poursuite au sujet de cette maison, que nous t'avons vendue et donnée et dont nous nous sommes dessaisis; et nous ne pourrons pas (en) intenter à un fils à toi ni une fille, ni à celui à qui tu voudrais la donner. Si nous t'intentions un procès et une poursuite, et que nous (en) intentions à un fils et une fille à toi, et à celui à qui tu voudrais la donner, nous te donnerons une somme de 20 *karš* (et) 1 *zûz* d'argent par pièce de dix¹²⁰. Et la maison t'appartient, encore une fois, ainsi qu'à tes enfants après toi et à celui à qui tu voudrais la donner. Aucun fils ni fille à nous ne pourra t'intenter procès ni poursuite au sujet de cette maison dont les limites sont inscrites ci-dessus. S'ils t'en intentaient et en intentaient à un fils et une fille à toi, ils te donneront la somme de 20 *karš* (et) 1 *zûz* d'argent par (pièce de) 10. Et la maison t'appartient, encore une fois, ainsi qu'à tes enfants après toi. Et si quelqu'un d'autre te poursuivait et poursuivait un fils et une fille à toi, nous nous dresserions, nous récupérerions (la maison) et te (la) rendrions dans les 30 jours; et si nous ne l'avions pas récupérée, nous et nos enfants nous te donnerions une maison à l'instar de ta maison et de son métrage....»

On relèvera notamment la promesse d'une sanction pénale, consentie par le vendeur à sa charge et à celle de ses ayants cause. Alors qu'elle est à peu près absente des formulaires utilisés par les «notaires» du Haut-Empire romain de l'Occident, elle est présente dans les Tablettes Albertini et les textes orientaux qui recourent au principe de la *poena dupli*. Ce principe, clairement formulé dès les plus anciennes lois bibliques du code de l'Alliance, au livre de l'Exode 22.3-9, ne fait que refléter la jurisprudence de l'Orient sémitique attestée depuis les débuts du II^e millénaire av. J.-C.¹²¹ Dans l'exemple cité du papyrus d'Éléphantine, la pénalité est toutefois plus élevée et elle est exprimée de manière concrète et chiffrée: 20 *karš* (et) 1 *zûz* d'argent par pièce de dix.

C'est à l'ininteruption d'une longue tradition notariale au service d'une continuité de doctrine, et non à une rencontre fortuite, qu'on attribuera la concordance, entre, d'une part, les formules des Tablettes Albertini et, d'autre part, celles des textes proche-orientaux, dont la jurisprudence punique d'Afrique du Nord n'était qu'un rameau acclimaté en Occident.

¹²⁰ Pour l'explication de cette formule, on peut se référer à B. PORTEN, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968, p. 66-67 et 305-307.

¹²¹ La *poena dupli* est prévue par le code d'Eshnunna §25 et §49, de même que par divers articles du Code d'Hammurabi; cf. G.R. DRIVER – J.C. MILES, *The Babylonian Laws I. Legal Commentary*, Oxford 1952, p. 133, 180, 190-191, 238-239, 323-324, 447. On la retrouve dans le droit talmudique: E. GOITEIN, *Das Vergeltungsprinzip im biblischen und talmudischen Strafrecht*, *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 20 (1893), p. 33-49 et 83-98 (voir p. 35-36).

L'origine punique de la tradition jurisprudentielle reflétée au V^e siècle ap. J.-C. par les Tablettes Albertini est d'autant mieux assurée que ces textes maintiennent une anthroponymie sémitique et comprennent un nombre relativement élevé, pour l'époque, de noms propres puniques. En effet, les personnes nommées dans ces textes ne portent en général qu'un seul nom et c'est en indiquant le patronyme que le scribe-notaire distingue entre eux les homonymes. La filiation s'exprime habituellement à la manière punique par la mention, à la suite du nom de l'intéressé, de celui de son père, au génitif (Donatianus Victoris¹²²; Felix Fortuni¹²³; Paternus Iaderis¹²⁴; etc.), parfois en y ajoutant le mot *filius* (Quodbuldeus Guduli filius¹²⁵; Geminus Felix Fortuni filius¹²⁶). Bien que l'anthroponymie ait été fortement latinisée, certains noms sont spécifiquement africains et gardent sous leur forme latine une consonance qui paraît bien traduire leur origine punique ou numide¹²⁷: *Gibalus*¹²⁸, *Gudulus*¹²⁹, *Mastuntus*¹³⁰, *Serbun*¹³¹, *Ualsamius*¹³², dame *Fotta*¹³³, dame *Gilesa*¹³⁴, *Iader*¹³⁵, *Magarius*¹³⁶, dame *Siddina*¹³⁷, *riu Sigibali*¹³⁸, *Innulus*¹³⁹, *Iam-*

¹²² Document II 3.

¹²³ Document III 12.

¹²⁴ Document III 24-25.

¹²⁵ Document XIII 35-36.

¹²⁶ Documents XXIX 5 et XXXI 10.

¹²⁷ Chr. COURTOIS et al., *op. cit.* (n. 114), p. 205-206.

¹²⁸ Document XV 9. C'est le nom punique *Grb'el*; cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 103.

¹²⁹ Document XIII 36. C'est le nom néopunique signifiant «Grand»; cf. K. JONGELING, *Names in Neo-Punic Inscriptions*, Groningen 1983, p. 232.

¹³⁰ Document XV 8. C'est un nom numide, apparenté à *Mstin/Mstn*; cf. K. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹³¹ Documents XI 1.9.18 et XVIII 3.12.[28].31. C'est un nom probablement numide, proche de *Šrby*; cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 185 et 426.

¹³² Document XXIV 5.12-14. C'est le nom punique *B'elšm'e*; cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.*, p. 100; K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 129), p. 158 et 228.

¹³³ Document VII 3, etc.; voir l'index dans Chr. COURTOIS et al., *op. cit.* (n. 114), p. 315. C'est apparemment le nom punique *Pt'*; cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 177 et 396.

¹³⁴ Document X 2.8.17.18.20. Ce nom est peut-être apparenté à l'anthroponyme numide *Gulussa*; cf. K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 129), p. 233.

¹³⁵ Documents III 25, VII 8.13, XIV 7, XXIII 7, XXX 4. C'est le nom numide *Iadar*; cf. K. JONGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 219 et 235.

¹³⁶ Documents IX 29.30, XII 20-21, XV 15.30, XXV 24.25. Ce nom numide est attesté également sur la mosaïque de Smirat sous la forme *Magerius*; cf. Mh.H. FANTAR, *Régulus en Afrique*, dans H. DEVIJVER – E. LIPiŃSKI (éd.), *Punic Wars (OLA, 33)*, Leuven 1989, p. 75-84 (voir p. 84).

¹³⁷ Document XIII 32, etc.; voir l'index dans Chr. COURTOIS et al., *op. cit.* (n. 114), p. 318. C'est un nom dérivé du punique *šdn*; cf. ci-dessus, n. 109.

¹³⁸ Document XXI 7. Ce nom de cours d'eau (*riu*) transcrit le punique *š Grb'el* «de Gérbaal».

¹³⁹ Documents VIII 23, XI 3.9.17.18.20, XVIII 4.13.29, XXXIII 4. C'est peut-être le

*bus*¹⁴⁰. On ajoutera à cela le toponyme *Gibba de Buresa/Uuresa*¹⁴¹, qui comporte le mot phénico-punique *gb^c* «colline».

Cet aperçu des vestiges et survivances du droit et de la jurisprudence phénico-puniques invite à se poser sérieusement la question du rôle de la composante orientale dans le droit romain, même en Occident. Certes, il y a des usages et des pratiques similaires qui peuvent voir le jour dans des régions différentes sans qu'il soit nécessairement question d'une influence culturelle¹⁴². La pratique de conclure des traités internationaux, qui remonte en Orient au III^e millénaire av. J.-C.¹⁴³, le rôle joué par les juristes originaires d'Afrique du Nord ou de Phénicie dans la formation du droit romain classique et l'humble témoignage des Tablettes Albertini permettent néanmoins de croire que c'est une question que les spécialistes des institutions de l'Empire romain ne peuvent éluder en bonne méthode.

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nom phénico-punique *ʿyn'l* ou bien *Hnw'l*; cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 124, 171, 377. Le correspondant féminin *Innula* est attesté dans une inscription de Haïdra: Z.B. BEN ABDALLAH, *op. cit.* (n. 95), n° 61 p. 29-30.

¹⁴⁰ Document XXX 2. Tout comme *Iambal* (*BAC* 1936-37, p. 217), ce pourrait être le nom punique *Yhnb^c*, avec le changement *n > m* devant *b*. Cf. F.L. BENZ, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 128; K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 129), p. 127-128.

¹⁴¹ Document XII 7.

¹⁴² Ce pourrait être le cas, par exemple, de la *circumambulatio* du domaine acquis, que nous avons étudiée en traitant de *Byrsa*, dans *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord I. Carthage et son territoire dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1990, p. 123-129 (voir p. 123-126). La même question se pose à propos du droit commercial et maritime des Phéniciens, que certains auteurs se sont efforcés de cerner: J. PIRENNE, *À propos du droit commercial phénicien antique*, *BAB* 41 (1955), p. 604-609; J. DAUVILLIER, *Le droit maritime phénicien*, *RIDA*, 3^e série, 6 (1959), p. 33-63; J. ROUGÉ, *Le droit de naufrage et ses limites en Méditerranée*, dans *Mélanges A. Piganiol*, Paris 1966, p. 1467-1479.

¹⁴³ Les plus anciens traités actuellement connus sont ceux conclus, au XXIV^e siècle av. J.-C., entre Ébla et Assur (TM.75.G.2420: G. PETTINATO, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, p. 287-290 et 389-395) et, au XXII^e siècle, entre Naram-Sîn, roi d'Akkad, et Khita, roi d'Élam (W. HINZ, *Elams Vertrag mit Naram-Sîn*, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie* 58, 1967, p. 66-96).

ZUR ROLLE UND BEDEUTUNG DER PRODUZIERENDEN GEWERBE IN ANTIKEN STÄDTEN

I. DIE FORSCHUNGSDISKUSSION

Indem manche deutsche Sozialtheoretiker des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts in ihrer sozial engagierten Kritik oder fortschrittorientierten Bewunderung der modernen 'Zweckrationalität' letztlich von der Einmaligkeit der Wirtschafts- und Sozialentwicklung im neuzeitlichen Europa überzeugt waren, apostrophieren sie — oftmals freilich auf eine durchaus einseitige Quellenauswahl und -interpretation gestützt — die grundsätzliche ökonomisch-soziale Andersartigkeit früherer Epochen, namentlich des von Sklaverei und weitgehend 'geschlossener' Hauswirtschaft, von vorwiegend militärisch-politischer Aktivität bestimmten Altertums.

Gegen solche Versuche, das antike Wirtschaftsleben als mehr oder minder 'primitive' Vorstufe der späteren mittelalterlich-neuzeitlichen Wirtschaftsentwicklung darzustellen, erhob sich seit dem Ausgang des 19. Jahrhunderts heftiger Widerspruch führender Fachhistoriker, welche — auf ihre Weise durch die damals sich verbreitende Überzeugung von dem 'grundlegenden Anteil' der Wirtschaft an der Kulturentwicklung geprägt — betonten, daß Handel und 'Industrie' des griechisch-hellenistisch-römischen Altertums vom 7. und 6. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis hin zu den Krisen der Spätantike einen nahezu kontinuierlichen Aufschwung nahmen und die Grundlage einer hochentwickelt-differenziererten, ihrem Wesen nach 'durchaus modernen' Kultur bildeten. Auch wenn zahlreiche der von den althistorischen 'Modernisten' aufgezeigten Fakten und Entwicklungen durch spätere Forscher anerkannt und bestätigt wurden, galten manche ihrer Bezeichnungen und Vorstellungen ('Großindustrie', 'Fabriken', 'Modernität' usw.) doch sehr bald als übersteigert, problematisch und irreführend, ja zogen ihnen damals wie heute den Vorwurf einiger offenkundiger Übertreibungen zu¹.

¹ S. zur Kritik an den älteren 'Primitivisten' (neben F. List, K. Marx und M. Weber vor allem B. Hildebrand, K. Rodbertus, K. Bücher und J. Hasebroek) bzw. 'Modernisten' (Ed. Meyer, J. Beloch, O. Neurath, R. von Pöhlmann, E. Ziebarth, M. Rostovtzeff etc.) zuletzt L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi und Artifices: Studien zur Stellung freier Handwerker in*

Mochte es somit in den Jahren vor und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg scheinen, als ob die 'Jahrhundertdebatte' über Charakter und Entwicklung der antiken Wirtschaft nach und nach in eine Art Synthese früher kontroverser, inzwischen eingehend geprüfter und weithin akzeptierter Forschungspositionen, d.h. in eine möglichst ausgewogene, einseitige Verkürzungen und Verzerrungen tunlichst meidende Betrachtungsweise ausliefe, so sollte der Forschungsstreit in jüngster Zeit in durchaus scharfer Form wiederaufleben, und zwar ganz überwiegend von 'primitivistischer' Seite. Während nämlich extrem 'modernisierende' Darstellungen des antiken Wirtschaftslebens kaum mehr publiziert werden, erscheint seit einigen Jahren, angeregt durch ethnologisch-anthropologische Fragestellungen, eine Fülle vor allem angelsächsischer und französischer Schriften, welche sich — wie im 19. Jahrhundert nicht selten von einer kritischen Distanz zur spezifisch-modernen, sozial-ethischen Normen und Kontrollen offenbar vielfach entgleiten- den Marktwirtschaft geprägt — erneut bemühen, die *vorkapitalistischen* Elemente früherer, namentlich antiker Wirtschaftsformen besonders deutlich herauszustellen.

Angesichts der inzwischen weithin anerkannten Tatsache, daß wir es in der griechisch-hellenistisch-römischen Antike zu Zeiten mit einer 'sehr intensiven Marktwirtschaft' zu tun haben, äußern sich die 'anti-modernistischen' Kritiker allerdings seltener zum antiken Wirtschaftsleben selbst, indem sie dieses in altbekannter Weise als fast ausschließlich agrarisch und kriegerisch-räuberisch abzuqualifizieren suchen. Häufiger wenden sich die 'neo-primitivistischen' Theoretiker den politisch-sozialen und ideologischen Rahmenbedingungen — der gesellschaftlich-institutionellen 'Einbettung' — des antiken Wirtschaftslebens zu, welche sich nach ihrer Überzeugung bereits im frühen Griechenland herausbildeten und die gesamte antike Kultur entscheidend bestimmten: Von ihren Ursprüngen her seien nämlich die antiken Stadtgemeinden vor allem kriegerisch organisierte Landeigentümerverbände gewesen, in denen zwar Kriegsbeute und Tributeinkünfte, Grundrenten und Zollabschöpfungen sowie die militärisch-politische Absicherung lebenswichtiger Zufuhren (Rohstoffe und Nahrungsmittel) eine bedeutende Rolle spielten, die eigentliche Handelstätigkeit und die handwerklich-gewerbliche Produktion aber weitestgehend Fremden (Metöken und

Sklaven) überlassen blieben, sich daher nur relativ schwach entwickelten und einen tiefgreifenden Einfluß auf die Wirtschaftsgesinnung und das Sozialdenken der Bürgergemeinschaft nicht gewonnen hätten.

Ungeachtet der schon so oft (und keineswegs nur von althistorischen 'Modernisten') ausgesprochenen Mahnungen, nicht vorwiegend von einseitig herangezogenen 'radikal anti-chrematistischen' Äußerungen einiger agrarisch-konservativ gesonnener Theoretiker und Literaten aus der griechisch-römischen Oberschicht auszugehen und des weiteren auch die 'Wandlungen im Lauf der Geschichte' gebührend zu berücksichtigen, versteifen sich also mehr und mehr 'neo-primitivistische' Publikationen darauf, daß die handwerklich-gewerbliche (Export-)Produktion für das Wirtschaftsgefüge antiker Städte weitgehend irrelevant gewesen und das griechisch-römische Altertum überhaupt schon seit frühgriechischer Zeit ganz überwiegend durch eine 'nicht-produktive' Wirtschaftsgesinnung und ein 'anti-banausisches' Sozialdenken — eine aristokratisch orientierte 'Hierarchie' der beruflichen Arbeit und des gesellschaftlichen Status — geprägt sei².

Es erscheint deshalb dringend erforderlich, die so häufig vorgetragenen Thesen noch einmal anhand einschlägiger Quellen und neuerer Detailforschungen zu überprüfen, um auf diese Weise — wo immer nötig — der Verbreitung und Verfestigung einseitig-vereinfachender Vorstellungen entgegenwirken zu helfen. Dabei soll zunächst mit einer der Hauptthesen der (Neo-)Primitivisten, der angeblich seit archaischer und klassischer Zeit weitgehend unbedeutenden und wenig geachteten Rolle der handwerklich-gewerblichen (Export-)Produktion in griechischen Poleis, begonnen werden, bevor im folgenden Abschnitt auf Strukturen der gewerblichen Produktion in hellenistisch-römischen Städten eingegangen wird.

II. GEWERBLICHE PRODUKTION IN GRIECHISCHEN POLEIS

Schon die Grundzüge der handwerklich-gewerblichen Entwicklung in einigen griechischen Poleis lassen deutlich werden, daß die rechtlich-politische und ökonomisch-soziale Stellung, die Wirtschaftstätigkeit und

² S. zu den 'Neo-Primitivisten' (neben K. Polanyi vor allem M.I. Finley und seine zahlreichen 'Multiplikatoren') L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 10ff., sowie *Gnomon* 57 (1985), S. 316-321 (kritische Rezension zu M. AUSTIN-P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im alten Griechenland*, München 1984). Vgl. auch hier unten Anm. 20-21.

-‘gesinnung’, das Selbstbewußtsein und die ‘Fremdeinschätzung’ von Handwerkern und Produzenten im frühen und klassischen Griechenland nicht mit wenigen einseitig-vereinfachenden Pauschalurteilen und schematisierenden Klischeevorstellungen zu erfassen sind: So war es keineswegs seit der griechischen Frühzeit schlichtweg das Ziel ‘aller antiken Staatspolitik’, nicht durch Handel und Produktion, sondern durch ‘Eroberung und Plünderung’ reich zu werden; ist am archaischen und klassischen Griechenland durchaus vielerorts die Entwicklung von Exportgewerben zu erkennen; dürfte wie in der ‘homerischen’ Gesellschaft oder im Umkreis Hesiods auch im späteren Griechenland kaum eine räumlich, zeitlich und sozial einheitliche Bewertung der wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeiten im Sinne einer festgefügtten und allgemein anerkannten ‘Hierarchie’ der beruflichen Arbeit und des gesellschaftlichen Status gültig gewesen sein; ist dementsprechend ‘die vorherrschende’ (nämlich ‘nicht-produktive’) Ideologie, in welche das Wirtschaftsleben ‘der’ Griechen ‘eingebettet’ gewesen wäre, schwerlich auszumachen³.

Wird das einschlägige Quellenmaterial hingegen zeitlich und räumlich, schichtspezifisch und auch individuell differenziert, zwischen dem Verhalten und Bewußtsein der Erwerbstätigen selbst und den Theorien und Thesen mancher aristokratisch-großagrarisches ausgerichteten Denker und Literaten unterschieden sowie auf bisweilen vorhandene Widersprüche innerhalb jener Thesen eingegangen, so ergibt sich für die Wirtschaftspraxis und -‘gesinnung’ in griechischen Poleis ein durchaus komplexes Bild.

Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wandelte sich die Intensität, mit welcher verschiedene Gebiete und Zentren — das frühe Attika, Korinth, Lakonien, das perikleische Athen usw. — an überregionalen Kommunikations- und Handelsverbindungen teilhatten. Je mehr in einzelnen Poleis die Nachfrage nach fremdartigen Luxusartikeln, Lebensmittelzufuhren oder Rohstoffen für die militärische Rüstung oder die zivile Produktion anstieg, umso stärker waren diese Gemeinwesen für gewöhnlich auf die Ausfuhr eigener landwirtschaftlicher oder handwerklich-kunstgewerblicher Erzeugnisse angewiesen⁴. (Übrigens wurden sich manche attischen Theoretiker und Kritiker des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. nicht nur dieses außenwirtschaftlichen Zusammenhangs sehr wohl bewußt;

³ S. gegen die Simplifikationen bei J. Hasebroek, M.I. Finley, A. Aymard, M. Austin – P. Vidal-Naquet etc., L. NEESEN, *Die griechische Polis — nur ein Import- und Konsumzentrum?*, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 52ff.

⁴ S. hierzu L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 22ff. und 286ff. sowie *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 55f.

sie erkannten auch die Bedeutung der fortschreitenden Arbeitsteilung für die Qualität *und* die Quantität der heimischen Produktion.)⁵

Die besonderen Fähigkeiten und Produkte (kunst-)handwerklicher Spezialisten trafen in archaischer Zeit weithin auf Bewunderung und Nachfrage entsprechend wohlhabender Kreise; die stimulierende Wirkung friedlich-wirtschaftlichen Wettbewerbs wurde jedenfalls von Hesiod klar erkannt⁶. Einer ausschließlich gewinnorientierten Lebensführung scheinen die kriegerisch-sportlich trainierten und politisch-rechtlich einflußreichen Adelsherren allerdings traditionell ablehnend gegenübergestanden zu haben, auch wenn etliche von ihnen sich — über Rechtsbeugung und Raub hinaus — durch Beteiligung an Handelsunternehmungen größeren Stils zu bereichern suchten⁷.

Mit Bevölkerungswachstum, fortschreitender wirtschaftlich-sozialer Differenzierung sowie Einbeziehung breiterer Kreise in das militärische Aufgebot zeichneten sich in den folgenden Jahrhunderten unterschiedliche Entwicklungen ab. In manchen Gebieten (wie dem Staat der Lakedämonier oder böotischen Poleis) gelang es den größeren Grundbesitzern über längere Zeit hin, die Gewerbbetreibenden von der vollen politisch-militärischen und sozialen Gleichstellung fernzuhalten⁸; dies

⁵ Import und Export: Plat., *Rep.* 370-371 und *Nom.* 847d; Ps.-Xen., *Ath. pol.* II 3; Xen., *Por.* 1.3-7 und 5.3; Isokr. IV 42; Aristot., *Pol.* 1327a4-40; Plut., *Sol.* 22.1. Vgl. Hdt. V 88.2; Thuk. I 139.1-2; Demosth. XIX 286; Aristoph., *Hipp.* 278f. und *Batr.* 362ff.

Arbeitsteilung und Produktion: Plat., *Rep.* 369ff. (insbes. 370c), 394e, 405c; *Nom.* 846d-e; Xen., *Mem.* II 7.10; Kyr. VIII 2.5. Vgl. Kyr. II 1.21; *Oik.* 1.2ff., 2.18, 7.20ff., 13.2ff., 15.1ff. sowie Isokr. XI 16-17; Aristoph., *Batr.* 971-991, *Plut.* 162ff. und 513ff.; Arist., *Pol.* 1273b8ff.; Ps.-Aristot., *Oik.* 1344b31-32; Plut., *Per.* 16.3ff.; Poll. VII *passim*. Gegen die Ignorierung oder Fehlinterpretation dieser Quellenaussagen bei 'Primitivisten' und manchen Marxisten s. L. NEESEN, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 56 Anm. 24 sowie *Demiurgoi*, S. 292f. Anm. 463.

⁶ S. z.B. *Il.* IV 485, V 59, VI 315, VII 220, XII 295, XV 411, XVIII 368-618, XXIII 741-747; *Od.* III 425-438, VIII 267-366 und 492, IX 391, XVII 382-386, XVIII 327, XIX 55 und 135; Hes., *Erg.* 11-26. Vgl. F. ECKSTEIN, *Handwerk*, Teil I: *Die Aussagen des frühgriechischen Epos (Archaeologia Homerica, II L 1)*, Göttingen 1974, S. 17ff.; E. KLUWE, *Handwerk und Produktion in der frühgriechischen Polis, JWG* 1978/IV, S. 112ff.

⁷ S. *Od.* I 182ff. und VIII 159ff.; vgl. *Il.* VII 467ff. und XXIII 741ff.; Hes., *Erg.* 202ff. und 618ff. Vgl. auch F. GSCHNITZER, *Griechische Sozialgeschichte von der mykenischen bis zum Ausgang der klassischen Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1981, S. 39f.; K.-W. WELWEI, *Die griechische Polis: Verfassung und Gesellschaft in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1983, S. 45ff.

⁸ S. für Lakonien: Hdt. II 167.2 und Isokr. XI 18; Xen., *Lak. pol.* 7.1-3 und 13.5; Plut., *Lyk.* 24 und *Ages.* 26.5. Zu Theben: Aristot., *Pol.* 1278a25ff. und 1321a29f. Zur Verachtung von 'Techne' wie auch Landarbeit (!) 'bei Thespiern': Herakleid., *Polit.* 43 (*FHG* II, S. 224; vgl. Aristot., fr. 611.76 Rose³). — Vgl. Herakleid. *Kritik., Perieg.* 1.9 Pfister; Strab. IX 401; Xen., *Oik.* 4.3; ferner F. KIECHLE, *Lakonien und Sparta (Vestigia,*

bedeutet aber wohl weder, daß die landbesitzende Oberschicht die militärisch-zivilen Dienstleistungen der produzierenden Gewerbe nicht mehr oder weniger ausgiebig und offen zu nutzen und schätzen gewußt hätte, noch, daß die Gewerbetreibenden selbst nicht in erheblichem Maße zu beruflicher Leistungsfähigkeit und Zufriedenheit gelangen konnten⁹.

In anderen Poleis (wie Athen und Korinth) scheinen die alteingesessenen Handwerker und Händler vergleichsweise früh und weitgehend in die politisch-militärische Bürgergemeinschaft integriert, der heimischen Wirtschaft darüber hinaus nach und nach große Mengen auswärtiger Arbeitskräfte (Metöken und Sklaven) zugeführt worden zu sein¹⁰. In Korinth mit seinem kleinen und wirtschaftlich z.T. nur wenig ergiebigen Gebiet sowie seinen frühzeitig stark gewinnorientierten und einflußreichen Handelsherren sollen die produzierenden Gewerbe dabei als vergleichsweise respektabel gegolten haben¹¹. Für Athen zeichnet sich —

5), München 1963, S. 184ff., 242ff.; P. SPAHN, *Mittelschicht und Polisbildung*, Frankfurt/M. 1977, S. 94-111; R.J. BUCK, *A History of Boeotia*, Edmonton 1979, S. 95f.; K.-W. WELWEI, *Polis*, S. 98ff., 115ff., 273.

⁹ S. zu Lakonien etwa Xen., *Lak. pol.* 11.2 und *Hell.* III 3.7; Paus. III 11.3, 12.10, 14.1, 17.4-7, 18.8ff.; vgl. Kritias bei Ath. XI 483bff. und Plut., *Lyk.* 9.18ff.; Aristoph., *Sphek.* 1157ff., *Ekk.* 74; Ath. V 198f-199e, 215c; Plin., *N.H.* VII 200; Poll. I 137 und 149, VI 96, VII 88, X 124; ferner R.M. COOK, *Spartan History and Archaeology*, CQ 12 (1962), S. 146ff.; R.T. RIDLEY, *The Economic Activities of the Perioikoi*, *Mnemosyne* 27 (1974), S. 281ff.; P. CARLEDGE, *Sparta and Laconia*, London 1979, S. 180ff.; M. CLAUS, *Sparta*, München 1983, S. 106ff., 187.

S. zu Böötien Aristoph., *Ach.* 874, 902 (vgl. Ath. XI 500a; Paus. IX 19.8; Plut., *Mor.* 828a); Pind., fr. 82 Werner (vgl. Ath. I 28a-c; Herakleid. Kritik., *Perieg.* 1.24 Pfister); Xen., *Hippik.* 12.3; Plut., *Pelop.* 12 (vgl. II. VII 219ff.; Strab. IX 408; Plin., *N.H.* VII 200; Ael., *V.H.* III 24; Poll. I 149); ferner Paus. V 24.1, IX 25.3, 34.3; Ath. III 112a-b; Herakleid. Kritik., *Perieg.* 1.19 Pfister (vgl. Hdt. I 195). — Vgl. auch W.R. ROBERTS, *The Ancient Boeotians*, Cambridge 1895, S. 32ff., 66ff.; R. LULLIES, *Zur frühen boiotischen Plastik*, JDAI 51 (1936), S. 137ff.; G. LIPPOLD, *Plastik (Handbuch der Archäologie, 3)*, München 1950, S. 39, 85, 110, 204; R.M. COOK, *Greek Painted Pottery*, London 1972², S. 27f., 101ff., 187f.; I. SCHEIBLER, *Griechische Töpferei*, München 1983, S. 161f., 173f.; L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 296f. Anm. 465.

¹⁰ S. hierzu L. NEESEN, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 58 Anm. 29 (mit ausführlichen Literaturangaben).

¹¹ S. Pind., *Ol.* 13.4-23; Hdt. II 167.2; Strab. VIII 378, 381-382; vgl. II. II 570, XIII 664; Thuk. I 13-15, 120.2; Aristot., *Pol.* 1313b22f.; Ps.-Aristot., *Oik.* 1346a-b; Polyb. VI 11a.7 (10); Dion. Hal. III 46.3; Nikol. Dam. (*FGrHist* 90) 57ff.; Plin., *N.H.* VII 198, XXXIV 6ff., XXXV 151f.; Diog. Laert. I 94ff.; Poll. X 157, 182; Ath. I 27d, IV 128d, V 199e und 206f, VI 227e-f, XI 470f und 488d, XII 525d, XIII 582d. — Vgl. H. PAYNE, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford 1931, S. viiff., 210ff., 222ff., 248ff., 348ff.; S.S. WEINBERG, *On Corinthian Terracotta Sculpture*, AJA 53 (1949), S. 262ff.; J.L. BENSON, *Die Geschichte der korinthischen Vasen*, Basel 1953, S. 107; A.R.W. HARRISON, *CR* 7 (1957), S. 61ff. (kritische

nicht zuletzt aufgrund des weitaus umfangreicheren Quellenmaterials — ein differenzierteres Bild ab.

Zwar scheinen nämlich im Staat der Athener etliche traditionsbewußte Aristokraten und Bauern den städtischen Gewerben mißtrauisch und z.T. auch hochmütig gegenübergestanden zu haben; andererseits gelangten aber offensichtlich zahlreiche Handwerker und Werkstattbesitzer, Klein- und Großhändler zu bescheidenem oder beträchtlichem Wohlstand, zu Selbstbewußtsein sowie mancherlei politisch-sozialem Respekt und Ansehen. Manche Neureichen Athens übernahmen die herkömmlich-aristokratischen Gepflogenheiten der vornehmlich militärisch-sportlichen Aktivität, der Freigebigkeit und Gastlichkeit; einige traditionell Begüterte begannen indes, ihre landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe stärker an Marktabsatz und Geldgewinn auszurichten. Allgemein verstärkte sich augenscheinlich die Tendenz, vor allem das eigene finanzielle Wohlergehen zu suchen und die Verpflichtungen gegenüber der Gemeinschaft möglichst zu umgehen¹². Den traditionskritischen Rationalismus und gewinnorientierten Utilitarismus für gutes Geld auch theoretisch zu formulieren, übernahmen etliche der in Athen zusammenkommenden Sophisten¹³. Sokrates, der als mäßig begüterter und vielseitig interessierter Sohn eines Steinmetzen und einer Hebamme offenbar sein ganzes Leben hindurch mit Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft seiner Heimatstadt sehr vertraut blieb, soll zwar einerseits — in kritischer Auseinandersetzung mit den neuen Lehren der Sophisten — um der inneren und äußeren Unabhängigkeit willen die Bezahlung geistig-erzieherischer Leistungen abgelehnt, soll aber andererseits kriegsgeschädigten Bürgern und ihren Anverwandten sehr wohl eine bezahlte Verwaltungstätigkeit oder eine nutzbringende, ja der körperlichen Gesundheit

Rezension zu Ed. WILL, *Korinthiaka*, Paris 1955); C. ROEBUCK, *Economy and Society in the Early Greek World*, Chicago 1979, S. 116ff., 121ff.; J.B. SALMON, *Wealthy Corinth*, Oxford 1984, S. 19ff., 132ff., 154ff., 159ff.

¹² S. hierzu L. NEESEN, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 59f. sowie *Demiurgoi*, S. 58ff. (mit zahlreichen Belegen).

¹³ S. etwa Anaxag. fr. A102, B21; Antiphon fr. B53-54; Anonym. Iambl. fr. 7 Diels-Kranz; Plat., *Apol.* 19c; *Men.* 91; *Charm.* 163b-d; *Soph.* 222c, 224c-e, 226a, 232d; *Hipp. Mai.* 282; *Euthyd.* 304c; *Prot.* 310-312, 315ff., 328b; *Hipp. Min.* 368; *Gorg.* 447ff., 512, 520; Xen., *Symp.* 1.5, *Mem.* I 2.6; Isokr. XIII 3, XV 155; Aristot., *Pol.* 1256a1ff., 1257b34ff.; Diod. I 8, XII 53.2; Diog. Laert. IX 50-56; Philostr., v. *Soph.* I 495. — Vgl. W. NESTLE, *Vom Mythos zum Logos*, Stuttgart 1942², S. 249ff., 259ff.; E. SALIN, *Politische Ökonomie: Geschichte der wirtschaftspolitischen Ideen von Platon bis zur Gegenwart*, Tübingen/Zürich 1967⁵, S. 13f.; V. EHRENBURG, *Aristophanes und das Volk von Athen*, Zürich/Stuttgart 1968, S. 274ff., 371f.

wie der häuslichen Zufriedenheit förderliche Handarbeit empfohlen haben¹⁴. So aristokratisch-konservativ engagierte Denker wie Platon und Aristoteles konnten sich in ihrem Protest gegen manche sophistische Thesen und in ihrer Ablehnung jedenfalls der nachperikleischen Demokratie ironischerweise gerade auf die fortschreitende Arbeitsteilung berufen, wenn sie forderten, daß nur die einen (die durch Renteneinnahmen o.ä. wirtschaftlich Unabhängigen und Gebildeten) politisch, die anderen aber (die Gewerbetreibenden wie auch die selbsttätigen Bauern) bloß wirtschaftlich aktiv sein sollten¹⁵. Der schriftstellernde Gutsbesitzer und Offizier Xenophon wiederum verklärte wortreich das 'lykurgische' Sparta als das leuchtende Gegenbild zu anderen griechischen Poleis, in welchen — nota bene — alle (Landwirte und Reeder, Kaufleute und Handwerker) soweit wie möglich nach Geldgewinn streben würden, *und* er propagierte — in einer anderen Schrift — die landwirtschaftliche Produktions- und Ertragssteigerung; er brachte ferner bei passender Gelegenheit seine Verachtung für die verstädterten Gewerbetreibenden zum Ausdruck, *und* er wollte diese — in anderem Zusammenhang — um des allgemeinen Nutzens willen gefördert wissen¹⁶. Während schließlich Isokrates, Sohn eines Instrumentenbauers und Lehrer der Rhetorik, durchaus den erzieherischen und 'sozialhygienischen' Wert betonte, den die Berufstätigkeit im Falle all derer habe, die dauerhaft auf einen Broterwerb angewiesen seien, empfahlen

¹⁴ S. Xen., *Mem.* I 2.5-7, 5.6 sowie II 7.8. — Vgl. STENZEL, *RE* IIIA (1927), Sp. 812 sowie H. BOLKESTEIN, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, Utrecht 1939, S. 192 Anm. 2, S. 199.

¹⁵ Nicht zuletzt die vielfältigen, offenbar immer weiter um sich greifenden Tendenzen zur Vernachlässigung der politisch-sozialen und finanziellen Bürgerpflichten, zu extrem individualistischem Utilitarismus und uneingeschränktem Gewinnstreben (Chrematistik) riefen den scharfen Protest Platons und Aristoteles' hervor! S. zu diesem gesamten Komplex L. NEESEN, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 61 (mit Anm. 38) sowie *Demiurgoi*, S. 103ff., 307f. (mit der Anm. 476).

¹⁶ Das 'lykurgische' Sparta als Gegenbild zum Chrematismos 'aller' anderen Griechen: *Lak. pol.* 7.1-2. Landwirtschaftliche Ertragssteigerung: *Oik.* 1.2-4, 2.18, 11.9ff. (vgl. Aristoph., *Batr.* 971ff.). Verachtung der Banausoi: *Oik.* 4.2-3, 6.5-6 (vgl. *Mem.* IV 2.22). Förderung von Handwerk und Handel: *Por.* 2.1ff., 3.1ff. — Vgl. E. SALIN, *Politische Ökonomie*, S. 15f.; P. MUSIOLEK, *Ökonomische Überlegungen der Philosophen und Publizisten im 4. Jahrhundert v.u.Z.*, in E.Ch. WELSKOPF (Hg.), *Hellenische Poleis* IV, Berlin 1974, S. 1919ff.; H.-D. ZIMMERMANN, *Die freie Arbeit in Griechenland während des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z.*, *Klio* 56 (1974), S. 344ff.; G. AUDRING, *Über Grundeigentum und Landwirtschaft in der Krise der athenischen Polis*, in E.Ch. WELSKOPF (Hg.), *Hellenische Poleis* I, Berlin 1974, S. 110f., 121ff., 126ff.; D. WHITEHEAD, *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic*, Cambridge 1977, S. 125ff.; W. BRAEUER, *Urahen der Ökonomie*, München 1981, S. 41ff.

zivilisationsverdrossene, asketische Kyniker ganz allgemein, der mühsamen und ausdauernden Anstrengung (Ponos) als einem Mittel der Erziehung zur wahren Tüchtigkeit fortan mehr Wertschätzung als bisher entgegenzubringen¹⁷.

Insgesamt gesehen waren also Wirtschaftspraxis und -'gesinnung', Sozialstruktur und -denken in Athen wie in anderen Poleis des archaischen und klassischen Griechenland viel zu komplex, um — damals wie heute — mit wenigen Schlagworten erfaßt werden zu können; vielmehr vermögen weder allzu vereinfachende Quellenaussagen (über 'die' Verachtung 'der' Lakedämonier oder Thespier für die Gewerbe, über 'den' Erwerbsdrang 'aller' anderen Griechen, usw.) einer kritischen Überprüfung standzuhalten¹⁸ noch entsprechende einseitig-vereinfachende, verkürzende und verzerrende Forschungsthese (über 'die' primitive und generell gesellschaftlich-institutionell 'eingebettete' oder aber 'die' hochentwickelte und durchweg 'kapitalistisch' geprägte Wirtschaft der Griechen, über 'die' Irrelevanz oder ganz hervorragende Bedeutung der gewerblichen Produktion und des Handels für das griechische Wirtschaftsleben, etc.)¹⁹.

Aus traditionell-agrarischen Strukturen heraus entwickelten sich nämlich offensichtlich in verschiedenen Poleis des archaischen und klassischen Griechenland nach und nach *mehr oder weniger* weitgehend geldwirtschaftlich-profitorientierte Formen der Erwerbstätigkeit und entsprechende ökonomisch-soziale Verhaltensmuster; gerade in dem «Aneinanderreiben zweier ... Wirtschaftsprinzipien liegt das Wesen der hellenischen Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte begründet, und alle Wirtschaftshistoriker müssen an einer ... Erkenntnis der realen Vorgänge vorübergehen, die einseitig nur eines der beiden Prinzipien als das ... allein gültig und wirkende hervorkehren»²⁰.

¹⁷ S. Isokr. VII 20, 24, 32-33, 43-45, 55, 83-84; vgl. IV 33 und 40ff., XI 19-20, XV 285; Plut., *Mor.* 836e. Vgl. auch Hipparch. fr. 2, Amph. fr. 3, Timokl. fr. 6, Philem. fr. 213, Men. fr. 4 und 68 Edmonds. — Zu den Kynikern s. Diog. Laert. VI 2ff., 27ff., 50f., 63, 70ff., 87, 93, 95, 103ff.; vgl. Xen., *Mem.* I 2.1ff., 2.56ff. und 5.6, II 1.1ff., 1.18ff., 1.21ff. — Vgl. P. MUSIOLEK, a.O., S. 1925, sowie L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 108f., 309f. (mit Literatur).

¹⁸ Zu den Lakedämoniern und Thespiern s. hier oben Anm. 8-9, zum Erwerbsdrang 'aller' anderen Griechen Anm. 16.

¹⁹ Vgl. zu derartigen Thesen hier oben Anm. 1-3.

²⁰ So schon O. ERB, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Denken der hellenischen Antike*, Berlin 1939, S. 7. Vgl. auch O. BRUNNER, *Die alteuropäische 'Ökonomik'*, *Zeitschrift für Nationalökonomie* 13 (1952), S. 114ff. (insbes. 133f.); E. SALIN, *Politische Ökonomie*, S. 3-18; S. MEIKLE, *Aristotle and the Political Economy of the Polis*, *JHS* 99 (1979), S. 57ff.;

III. PRODUZIERENDE GEWERBE IN HELLENISTISCH-RÖMISCHEN ZENTREN

Ebensowenig wie die betreffenden Charakteristika der archaischen und klassischen Poleis Griechenlands lassen sich die Wirtschafts- und Sozialstrukturen hellenistisch-römischer Metropolen mit wenigen Schlagworten erfassen, wie etwa die Beispiele Alexandria und Rom zeigen. Denn weder ist das ptolemäisch-römische Alexandria mit dem Hinweis auf seine Funktion als bedeutender Umschlaghafen wirtschaftsgeschichtlich hinreichend gekennzeichnet noch das Rom der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit nur als Verwaltungs- und Konsumzentrum («the complete parasite city»)²¹. Vielmehr entwickelte sich in beiden Städten auch eine sehr weitgefächerte gewerbliche Produktion, die den ausge dehnten urbanen Absatzmarkt versorgte und darüber hinaus z.T. — in mehr oder minder großem Umfang — für den Export arbeitete²².

Neben zahlreichen Kleinbetrieben, in denen ein Handwerksmeister einige freie oder unfreie Gehilfen beschäftigte, existierten dabei etliche Großbetriebe mit Dutzenden von Arbeitskräften. Während freilich in Alexandria — ähnlich wie im ägyptischen Hinterland — die meisten Werkstätigen freigeborene Ägypter, Juden, Griechen usw. gewesen zu sein scheinen, dürften zumindest in den größeren Werkstätten Roms ganz überwiegend Sklaven und Freigelassene gearbeitet haben.

Eigentümer der Großbetriebe waren im ptolemäisch-römischen Alexandria teils der Staat (d.h. der König bzw. der Kaiser), teils reiche Privatleute. Im Rom der späteren Republik wurden Lieferungs- oder Leistungsaufträge durchweg an Privatfirmen vergeben; später ließen die Kaiser ihre Sklaven und Freigelassenen in verschiedenen Wirtschaftszweigen mit denen privater (Groß-)Unternehmer konkurrieren²³.

R.J. HOPPER, *Handel und Industrie im klassischen Griechenland*, München 1979, *passim*; L. NEESEN, *MBAH* 4.1 (1985), S. 49-66, *Gnomon* 57 (1985), S. 316-321, sowie *Demiurgoi*, S. 22-112, 286-311.

²¹ Für beides s. M.I. FINLEY, *The Ancient Economy*, London 1985², S. 130 — Vgl. jedoch schon die kritischen Rezensionen zur 1. Auflage durch M.W. FREDERIKSEN, *JRS* 65 (1975), S. 164-171 sowie H.P. KOHNS, *GGA* 230 (1978), S. 120-132 (insbes. 131f.); ferner Ed. MEYER, *Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte* (Vortrag d.J. 1902), in *Kleine Schriften* I², Halle 1924, S. 3ff.; H. GRASSL, *Sozialökonomische Vorstellungen in der kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Literatur* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 41), Wiesbaden 1982, S. 203ff.; K. HOPKINS, Einführung zu P. GARNSEY etc. (Hg.), *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, London 1983, S. xiff.

²² S. dazu L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 118ff., 190ff., 313 Anm. 481; vgl. die hier unten Anm. 33 genannte Literatur.

²³ L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 155ff., 240ff. Vgl. Th. PEKÁRY, *Die Wirtschaft der*

Die Möglichkeit, an der städtischen Selbstverwaltung mitzuwirken, war in Alexandria einerseits auf einen kleinen Kreis zumeist alteingesessener und recht begüterter Bürger griechisch-makedonischer Abstammung, andererseits auf die Juden mit ihrem gesonderten Gemeindeverband beschränkt; ein Großteil der werktätigen Bevölkerung Alexandrias (Ägypter und hellenisierte Zuwanderer aus verschiedensten Ländern) vermochten sich also nur wirtschaftlich, nicht aber politisch zu engagieren. Die gewerblich tätigen Bürger oder freigelassenen Handwerker im spätrepublikanischen Rom verfügten über das Stimmrecht innerhalb der städtischen Tribus, während die Masse der römischen Bürger überhaupt in der Kaiserzeit faktisch das Wahl- und Gesetzgebungsrecht einbüßte²⁴.

Über den sozialen Zusammenhalt der werktätigen Bevölkerung Alexandrias ist — abgesehen von einem Verband der Hirsemüller und -bäcker, welcher Ptolemaios IV. Philopator eine Marmortafel dedizierte, und so allgemeinen Vergnügungen (Pferderennen, Gesangsdarbietungen, Trinkgelagen etc.), wie sie Dion Chrysostomos später kritisierte — wenig bekannt. Aus Rom hingegen blieb eine Fülle von Angaben über die Aktivität verschiedenster Berufs-, Kult- und sonstiger Vereine erhalten, in welchen die 'kleineren Leute' (Freigeborene, Freigelassene und Sklaven) Gelegenheit zu Geselligkeit und zu mancher gegenseitigen Unterstützung, zu gemeinsamen Gottesdiensten, Mahlen und Festen fanden. Ähnliche Vereine bestanden übrigens auch in zahlreichen anderen Städten griechisch-hellenistischer oder römischer Prägung²⁵.

Hinsichtlich der 'Wirtschaftsgesinnung' (der Einstellung zur produktiven und profitablen Tätigkeit) sowie der 'gesellschaftlichen (Selbst-) Einschätzung' der werktätigen Bevölkerungsschichten gab es auch und gerade in so komplexen Sozialgefügen wie im ptolemäisch-römischen Alexandria und im Rom der späten Republik und der Kaiserzeit erwartungsgemäß durchaus divergierende Auffassungen.

griechisch-römischen Antike, Wiesbaden 1979², S. 93ff.; F. DE MARTINO, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Rom*, München 1985, S. 183ff., 338ff.

²⁴ S. L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 164ff., 186f., 251f. (mit Literatur).

²⁵ Zu Alexandria s. *OGIS* II 729; Dion Chrys. XXXII 41ff., 90ff.; vgl. Th. REIL, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1913, S. 151, 176ff. — Für Rom und etliche andere Städte s. L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 182f., 248ff., 280ff., 316f.; vgl. F.M. AUSBÜTTEL, *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches*, Kallmünz 1982, *passim*.

Einerseits erhielten die gängigen (sozial-)philosophischen Theorien der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit (die Lehren der Kyniker, Stoiker, Neopythagoreer usw.) bestimmte anti-chrematistische Aspekte, namentlich die Warnung vor sinnentleerter Habgier und dem Streben nach überflüssigen Luxusgütern, — wurden ferner in gewissen Kreisen des öfteren auch jene altüberkommenen Vorurteile mancher wohlhabenden und gebildeten Griechen gegen die angeblich in jeder Beziehung erniedrigende gewerbliche (und bäuerliche) Handarbeit rezipiert, wie etwa einige Äußerungen Ciceros und Senecas sowie die Gestalt der Paideia in Lukians *Traum* belegen²⁶.

Andererseits propagierten gerade viele Stoiker und Kyniker das Ideal der engagierten Anstrengung und Aktivität: Während freilich Seneca dieses Ideal vornehmlich im Sinne geistig-philosophischer Betätigung verstand und Marc Aurel später sehr allgemein zur Arbeitsamkeit und Erfüllung der Pflichten gegenüber der menschlichen Gemeinschaft aufrief, ging z.B. Dion Chrysostomos — wohl in weitgehendem Einvernehmen mit so 'nüchtern-aufgeklärten' Kaisern wie Vespasian und Traian — durchaus von den materiellen Nöten der kleinen Leute aus, bezeichnete diese als die eigentlich produktiven Kräfte und empfahl ihnen nachdrücklich, sich ihren Lebensunterhalt durch eine anständige Handarbeit zu verdienen²⁷.

Im übrigen ließen sich wohl alle — die reicheren wie die ärmeren — Schichten im praktischen Geschäftsgebaren für gewöhnlich zunächst einmal von ihren unmittelbaren Bedürfnissen und Interessen leiten und suchten diese erst im nachhinein nicht selten mit wohlklingenden Formulierungen auch ideologisch zu überhöhen.

Die ptolemäischen Herrscher und ihre römischen Erben etwa waren genauso sehr an produktiven und profitablen Wirtschaftsunternehmen interessiert wie andere Großhändler und -produzenten Alexandrias; in Rom ließen Kaiser, Senatoren und Ritter ihre Sklaven und Freigelassenen in verschiedensten Wirtschaftszweigen agieren, schreckten auch

²⁶ Zu gewissen anti-chrematistischen Äußerungen s. die informative Einführung (»Arbeit und Geld im griechisch-hellenistisch-römischen Denken«) bei F. HAUCK, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zu Arbeit und Geld*, Gütersloh 1921, S. 32-62, 139, 167f.; ferner W. NESTLE, *Griechische Geistesgeschichte von Homer bis Lukian*, Stuttgart 1944, S. 352ff., 505ff.; H. GRASSL, *Sozialökonomische Vorstellungen*, S. 101ff., 111ff. — Lukian, *Enhypn.* 5ff. — Zu manchen extrem einseitigen Bemerkungen Ciceros (*Off.* I 151 und *Flacc.* 8.18) sowie Senecas (*Epist.* 88 und 90) vgl. L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 260ff.

²⁷ Für Seneca s. die vorherige Anm. — M. Aurel. I 16, V 1 und 5, VI 30, VII 3, VIII 12, IX 12. — Dion Chrys. VII 103, X 7ff., XXXIV 21ff.

angesehene Personen (*viri honesti*) bezeichnenderweise nicht davor zurück, sich über Mittelsleute an dem ebenso anrühigen wie lukrativen Geschäft mit Bordellen zu beteiligen²⁸. Und während es in Rom (nach Catos elementarer Befürwortung diverser Erwerbsarten) einem Cicero vorbehalten blieb, neben den Annehmlichkeiten des Landbesitzes — das 'Ackern' selbst galt auch manchem vornehmen Römer nunmehr als unfein — die Ehrbarkeit der finanzkräftigen Großkaufleute wortgewandt zu erläutern, so sollte später gerade der alexandrinische Kirchenlehrer Clemens nachdrücklich argumentieren, daß auch dem finanziell Erfolgreichen der Weg der christlichen Heilslehre durchaus nicht prinzipiell versperrt sei²⁹.

Doch auch viele 'kleinere Leute' vermochten offensichtlich zu beruflichem Selbstwertgefühl und sozialem Respekt zu gelangen: Die erwerbstätige Bevölkerung im hellenistisch-römischen Alexandria etwa galt generell als erfindungsreich, produktiv und äußerst geschäftstüchtig, wie entsprechende Bemerkungen in verschiedenen literarischen Quellen zeigen³⁰. Im Rom der späten Republik und der Prinzipatszeit konnten es sich etliche freigelassene oder freigegeborene Handwerker und Händler leisten, für sich, ihre Anverwandten und mitunter auch ihre Mitarbeiter ein ansehnliches Grabmal zu erwerben, auf welchem die beruflichen Aktivitäten und Qualitäten der Verstorbenen nicht selten recht eindrucksvoll hervorgehoben wurden. Zahlreiche ähnliche Gedenksteine sind aus Städten der Poebene, Galliens und der Rheinlande bekannt³¹.

Es war also wohl in erster Linie die handwerklich-gewerbliche Tüchtigkeit als solche, die Selbstwertgefühl und soziale Wertschätzung des Erwerbstätigen zu begründen pflegte; der ermunternde Zuspruch manches kynisch-stoischen Wanderlehrers (wie des Dion Chrysostomos) oder — in anderem 'ideologischen Umfeld' — die Ermahnungen christlicher Prediger an ihre auf einen Broterwerb angewiesenen Glau-

²⁸ Zu letzterem s. z.B. *Dig.* V 3.27.1 (Ulp.); vgl. allgemein L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 170f., 241f. sowie hier oben Anm. 23.

²⁹ Cato: *Agr. pr.* 1-4; *Dist.* 19, 28; Cicero: *Off.* I 151 (vgl. hier oben Anm. 26); Clemens: *Strom.* I 4.25.1ff., *Div.* XI 2ff.

³⁰ S. etwa *Bell. Alex.* 3 und *SHA, Saturnin.* 8.5-7; vgl. Th. REIL, *Gewerbe*, S. 173 sowie E. LEIDER, *Der Handel von Alexandria*, Hamburg 1934, S. 81ff.

³¹ S. hierzu H. GUMMERUS, *Darstellungen aus dem Handwerk auf römischen Grab- und Votivsteinen*, *JDAI* 28 (1913), S. 63-126; P. ZANKER, *Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener*, *JDAI* 90 (1975), S. 267-315; H. GEIST-G. PFOHL, *Römische Grabinschriften*, München 1976², S. 74-83 (»Gewerbe und Handwerk«); G. ZIMMER, *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*, Berlin 1982, *passim*.

bensbrüder (Paulus, Clemens usw.) sollten dann diese Tendenz nur verstärken³².

Insgesamt gesehen scheinen jedenfalls die produzierenden Gewerbe für das Wirtschaftsleben Alexandrias und Roms sowie auch etlicher anderer hellenistisch-römischer Zentren durchaus von beachtlicher Bedeutung gewesen zu sein und zumindest die freigeborenen oder freigelassenen Handwerker und Produzenten — ihrem individuellen wirtschaftlichen Erfolg entsprechend — oft auch zu beruflichem Selbstbewußtsein und sozialer Anerkennung gefunden zu haben³³.

Die Ursachen dafür, daß die wirtschaftlich-soziale Entwicklung dann seit der späteren Prinzipatszeit einen zumal für den Westen des römischen Reiches so verhängnisvollen Verlauf nahm — Bevölkerungsrückgang, Zerrüttung des Währungs- und Finanzsystems, weitgehend naturalwirtschaftliche Bedarfsdeckung des Staates, Tendenzen zur erblichen Berufsbindung und zur Schaffung straff organisierter Staatsmanufakturen, oftmals sehr ungleiche Verteilung der Kriegs- und Bürgerkriegslasten, vielerorts verbreitete Neigung zur 'Stadtflucht' und zur Eingliederung in große außerstädtische Wirtschaftseinheiten, usw. —, erscheinen im übrigen als viel zu komplex, um nur oder vornehmlich auf das mangelnde Verständnis mancher gesellschaftlichen Kreise für die Aufgaben und Probleme der innerstädtischen Produktion reduziert werden zu können; wie jeder andere 'Monokausalismus' dürfte nämlich auch dieser kaum jener komplizierten «Wechselwirkung zwischen verschiedenen Umwandlungsprozessen in der Epoche der großen Krise» gerecht werden³⁴.

³² Zu Dion Chrys. vgl. hier oben Anm. 27. — Zu Paulus und Clemens s. (neben der obigen Anm. 29) F. HAUCK, *Urchristentum, passim* (insbes. S. 166f.); I. SEIPEL, *Die wirtschaftsethischen Lehren der Kirchenväter*, Wien 1907 (ND Graz 1972), S. 123ff.; H. HOLZAPFEL, *Die sittliche Wertung der körperlichen Arbeit im christlichen Altertum*, Würzburg 1941, S. 61ff.; vgl. H.-J. DREXHAGE, *Wirtschaft und Handel in den frühchristlichen Gemeinden, RQA 76/1-2* (1981), S. 16ff., 35ff.

³³ Vgl. Th. REIL, *Gewerbe, passim*; H. GUMMERUS, *RE IX* (1916), Sp. 1439-1535, s.v. *Industrie und Handel*; H.J. LOANE, *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome*, Baltimore 1938, *passim*; H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Die Spezialisierung des römischen Handwerks*, in *Das Handwerk in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit I*, hg. von H. JANKUHN u.a. (*Abhandl. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 3. Folge, 122), Göttingen 1981, S. 63-132; A. HÄNDEL, *Zu Produktion und Distribution in der Stadt Rom*, in *Studien zur römischen Stadtentwicklung (JWG-Sonderband)*, Berlin 1983, S. 87-166; F. DE MARTINO, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, S. 183ff., 338ff.; L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 113ff., 177ff., 277ff., 312ff.

³⁴ S. G. ALFÖLDY, *Römische Sozialgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1984³, S. 136f.; vgl. L. NEESEN, *Demiurgoi*, S. 326ff.

IV. ERGEBNIS

Die gerade in jüngster Zeit wieder so oft vorgebrachte These, daß die handwerklich-gewerbliche Produktion für das Wirtschaftsgefüge antiker Städte weitgehend irrelevant und das griechisch-römische Altertum überhaupt schon seit frühgriechischer Zeit ganz überwiegend durch eine 'nicht-produktive' Wirtschaftsgesinnung und eine Verachtung der städtischen Gewerbe geprägt gewesen sei, läßt sich schwerlich aufrecht-erhalten. Denn — wie oben dargelegt — vermochten sich die fortschrittlichen, auf zunehmender Arbeitsteilung und Geldwirtschaft basierenden Formen der Erwerbswirtschaft schon in mancher griechischen Polis der archaischen und klassischen Zeit in starkem Maße gegenüber den traditionell-agrarischen Kräften durchzusetzen und neuartige ökonomisch-soziale Verhaltensmuster (namentlich ein oft recht ausgeprägtes Profitstreben) hervorzubringen; und in der beachtlichen wirtschaftlichen Aufwärtsentwicklung, die dann in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit über Jahrhunderte hin zahlreiche Zentren des Mittelmeerraums erfaßte, scheinen sich diese Tendenzen zur fortschreitenden wirtschaftlich-sozialen Differenzierung, zur Nutzung und Wertschätzung auch der innerstädtischen Erwerbsmöglichkeiten nicht selten noch beträchtlich verstärkt zu haben, so daß viele Handwerker und Produzenten — ihrem individuellen wirtschaftlichen Erfolg entsprechend — sehr wohl zu beruflichem Selbstwertgefühl und sozialer Anerkennung gelangen konnten.

Die schlichten Schlagworte von der 'Primitivität' der antiken Wirtschaft, von der ihre Entwicklung behindernden gesellschaftlich-institutionellen 'Einbettung' usw. erweisen sich mithin als allzu simpel, — als ebenso ungeeignet, die komplexen wirtschaftlich-sozialen Strukturen der griechisch-römischen Welt zu erfassen wie die herkömmlichen Gegenthesen von der durchweg 'kapitalistischen' Prägung und generellen 'Modernität' der Antike.

Während jedoch letztere Simplifikationen seit längerem kaum mehr wiederholt werden, macht die Vielzahl 'neo-primitivistischer' Publikationen der jüngsten Zeit auch *hic et nunc* immer wieder die nachdrückliche Mahnung erforderlich, im Hinblick auf die antike Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte nicht vorschnell in einseitig-vereinfachende Klischeevorstellungen und Pauschalurteile zu verfallen, welche den vielschichtigen wirtschaftshistorischen Problemen nicht gerecht zu werden

vermögen und — vielleicht eben deshalb — bedauerlicherweise oftmals großen Anklang finden; wird doch — wie schon Eduard Meyer vor Jahrzehnten beklagte — durch solch formelhaft-vereinfachende Darstellungen «das Erlernen der geschichtlichen Tatsachen» allzusehr «erleichtert», ja scheinbar «unnötig gemacht», und «zugleich dem, der diese Formeln beherrscht, das Gefühl einer unendlichen Überlegenheit ... verschafft»³⁵.

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³⁵ Ed. MEYER, *Kleine Schriften I*², S. 12. Vgl. gegen die neo-primitivistische 'new orthodoxy' (so K. HOPKINS, in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, S. XI, über Finley etc.) auch die grundsätzlichen methodologischen Einwendungen in der hier oben Anm. 20-21 angeführten Literatur.

KATOIKIAI, KATOIKOI AND MACEDONIANS IN ASIA MINOR

In the third edition of *Hellenistic Civilization* Tarn and Griffith pointed out that the basis of the Seleucid settlement of Asia was the military colony. They went on to explain that in a military colony «the settlers were time expired troops» each of whom «was given a parcel of land to cultivate ... called a *kleros* ... the tenure was military, the life holder having to serve in the army when called upon ... it was the men of the *kleroi*, the cleruchs, who formed the backbone of the Seleucid armies, the Graeco-Macedonian phalanx ... It is generally believed that the settlers in a military colony were called *katoikoi* ...»¹ This is a neat and precise account of a significant aspect of the Seleucid achievement. But only part of it is supported by the evidence. There is both epigraphic and literary documentation which shows that the Seleucids populated at least some of their colonies with soldiers². On the other hand there is no concrete evidence for a Seleucid *kleros* being tied to a military obligation. In fact it is an assumption based on the system in Ptolemaic Egypt³. And while some scholars have continued to assume such an obligation, others have suggested alternate means — such as regional conscription or membership in a *koinon* — by which colonists might have served⁴. Whatever the means, it is clear that if the colonists were «the backbone of the phalanx» the importance of the colonies for an

¹ W.W. TARN – G.T. GRIFFITH, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, London 1952³, p. 146.

I use the following abbreviation: KP I-III = J. KEIL – A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis (Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 53.2)*, 1910; *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien (DAAW, 54.2)*, 1911; *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien und den angrenzenden Gebieten Ioniens (DAAW, 57.1)*, 1914. Journal abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

² See Diod. Sic. XXXIII 4a (Syrian Larissa); *OGIS* I 229 (Magnesia-on-the-Sipylos); *SEG* VII 13 ll. 9-12 (Seleukeia-on-the-Eulaios).

³ A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Séleucides*, Paris 1913-1914, p. 476-477; E. BICKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1938, p. 87-88; M. LAUNAY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* I, Paris 1949-1950, p. 49-52; see also G.M. COHEN, *The Seleucid Colonies*, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 51-52.

⁴ Among those who assume the existence of a military obligation see, for example, F. OERTEL, art. *Katoikoi*, in *RE* XI (1921), col. 2-3; G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935, p. 148; M. ROSTOVITZ, in *CAH* VII, Cambridge 1928, p. 171; F. CUMONT, *CRAI* 1931, p. 248; and B. BAR-KOCHVA, *The Seleucid Army*, Cambridge 1976, p. 21.

understanding of the army is of the first order. While the colonies were scattered over the whole empire, much of the evidence for them has come from Asia Minor. In this paper I should like to examine some of the data from Asia Minor that is cited by scholars as evidence for the Seleucid colonization program: the *katoikoi*, *katoikiai* and the Macedonians.

At the end of the nineteenth century G. Radet and A. Schulten suggested that the term *katoikia*, which referred to military colonies of Greeks and Macedonians in second-century B.C. Egypt, had likewise been used for military colonies in the Seleucid empire⁵. As evidence for the Seleucid empire they pointed to the presence of soldiers — described as *katoikoi* — in Magnesia on the Sipylus in c. 243 B.C. and the presence of *katoikoi* scattered throughout Lydia and Phrygia. They were, however, attacked by a number of scholars who quickly pointed out that *katoikia* was synonymous with *kome*. In 1897, for example, Ramsay wrote: «M. Radet assumes that the *katoikoi* were Macedonians ... A *katoikia*, however, is a settlement, but not necessarily of soldiers. The colonists settled by the Greek kings in Asia Minor were in many cases Orientals, often Jews: all such settlers were classed as *katoikoi*... why does (Radet) assume that in an inscription of 246 A.D. it implies a colony of Macedonian soldiers?»⁶ Then in 1937 Louis Robert pointed out that the term *katoikos* «which one observed in Ptolemaic Egypt of the second century B.C. designating military colonists ... had been ‘abusivement étendue’ by modern scholars to numerous *katoikiai* mentioned in inscriptions of the Imperial period from western Asia Minor.» He also called attention to the fact that the term *katoikia* was quite vague and that it could refer to a town, a village or a quarter within a town⁷. Despite these admonitions, some scholars have continued to use the term *katoikia* to describe a military colony⁸. Furthermore, in discussions of the evidence there has been a

For the suggestion that military service was based on religious conscription see E. BIKERMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 72-87; for service based on membership in a koinon see G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 5.

⁵ G. RADET, *De coloniis a Macedonibus in Asiam cis Taurum deductis*, Paris 1892, p. 6; A. SCHULTEN, *Hermes* 32 (1897), p. 523-527.

⁶ W.M. RAMSAY, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 2 vol., Oxford 1895 & 1897, p. 583; J.G.C. ANDERSON, *JHS* 17 (1897), p. 424; E. MEYER, *Hermes* 33 (1898), p. 643-647. Earlier, P. FOUCART had noted the synonymy of *katoikia* and *kome*: *BCH* 9 (1885), p. 395-396; both A. SCHULTEN (*Hermes* 32, 1897, p. 530) and G. RADET (*Revue des Universités du Midi* 2, 1896, p. 6) were aware of this.

⁷ L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1937, p. 191-194.

⁸ See, for example, R.E. ALLEN, *The Attalid Kingdom*, Oxford 1983, p. 95.

tendency to consider Lydia (i.e. western Asia Minor) and Phrygia (i.e. central Asia Minor) as a single entity⁹. Thus, a recent study pointing out that there is epigraphic evidence for *katoikoi* and *katoikiai* in forty five locations in Asia Minor has in fact revived Radet and Schulten's thesis and claimed that the terms *do* refer to military colonies. It also notes that we have an additional fifteen locations in Lydia and Phrygia which had Macedonian inhabitants. As a result it claims approximately sixty locations — in addition to other settlements — throughout Lydia and Phrygia with presumptive evidence for Seleucid military colonies and, by extension, for the Seleucid army¹⁰. The prospect of so much information is very exciting. Unfortunately on close examination the number and the nature of the colonies become increasingly doubtful. I shall first consider the evidence of the *katoikoi* and the *katoikiai*.

In the Hellenistic period the term *katoikia* is not found in the extant evidence from Asia Minor¹¹; *katoikos*, however, is. In the treaty signed by Smyrna and Magnesia c. 243 B.C. it refers specifically to Seleucid military colonists. In the last testament of Attalus III in 133 B.C. it is used — equally specifically — of Attalid military colonists. On the other hand, in another Attalid inscription of 185 B.C. — a letter of Eumenes II's brother Attalus — it simply means native inhabitants as it apparently does in three inscriptions of the first century B.C. from Priene¹². In short, one can say that based on the Hellenistic evidence from Lydia the term *katoikos* can refer either to military or non-military inhabitants.

Then in the Roman period the epigraphic evidence expands tremendously. *Katoikiai* and *katoikoi* — at least forty five known to date — start voting and receiving honors in Lydia and the surrounding

⁹ See, for example, V. TSCHERIKOWER, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, Leipzig 1927, p. 121, and B. BAR-KOCHVA, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 25.

¹⁰ B. BAR-KOCHVA, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 22ff.

¹¹ W.W. TARN — G.T. GRIFFITH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 147 n. 5 — somewhat inaccurately — refer to three examples of the use of *katoikia* in the Hellenistic period: *OGIS* I 238; C. HUMANN, *Altortümer von Hierapolis*, Berlin 1898, p. 212; and Strabo XIV 2.25. The first is generally agreed to be Hellenistic and records a decree made by οἱ κατοικοῦντες κτλ. Note, however, that the extant part of the decree uses the verb κατοικέω; the term *katoikia*, however, is not found. The second does mention ἡ κατοικία τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικοῦντων but is of Imperial date. And, of course, Strabo uses the term *katoikia* simply as the equivalent of «settlement» without any reference to a specific colonial origin to describe Stratonikeia in Caria (see L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, p. 191-194).

¹² *OGIS* I 229 l. 30, l. 100, etc.; *I. Priene* 112 l. 79, 113 l. 42, 118 l. 13. See also P. HERRMANN, *DAWW* 80 (1962), p. 34-35 (οἱ ἐν Λυένδωι κάτοικοι), dated palaeographically to the second century B.C. (= *TAM* V 1 1).

regions¹³. If we are to assume that these originated as Seleucid military colonies we must also assume that, although they were founded in the third century B.C., nothing is heard from them until two to five hundred years later. This I find difficult to accept. Furthermore, when they finally emerge we find that neither the term *katoikia* nor *katoikos* has any perceptible military connotation. In all of the inscriptions so far unearthed there is no reference to anything which might be construed as military. Nor is there any reference to anything which might be considered 'colonial'. Furthermore there are a number of cases where a locality is referred to in one inscriptions as a *katoikia* and in another as a *kome*.¹⁴ The conclusion is, I think, inescapable that, based on the present evidence, one can not claim any unique military or Hellenistic status for a *katoikia* or *katoikos* in Roman Lydia.

Another possible indication of an original colonial status is the references to Macedonians in Asia Minor. These indications come in many forms: Macedonian personal names or month names, the ethnic «Macedonian» in inscriptions or on coins and, finally, the occasional literary references. Among scholars of the Hellenistic Near East the urge is great to find Macedonians and thus to announce the discovery of another Hellenistic colony. This impulse, however, has occasionally led to identifications which later turned out to be questionable or incorrect. For example, the designation of Mostene in Lydia as a Macedonian colony was based on some alleged coins with the legend ΜΟΕΘΗΝΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ. Fontrier in 1886 claimed he saw them. Foucart, writing the next year, said he had not seen the coins but believed Fontrier. Other scholars have neither seen the coins nor believed Fontrier; so, delete Mostene¹⁵. Amorion in Phrygia, at first glance,

¹³ B. BAR-KOCHVA, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 216 n. 24, and references cited there.

¹⁴ See, for example, (a) KP III 113, *BCH* 20 (1896), p. 395 no. 4 and *Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ.* 6 (1886), p. 87f.; (b) *IGR* IV 635; (c) K. BURESCH, *Aus Lydien*, Leipzig 1898, no. 1 l. 3; (d) *BCH* 9 (1885), p. 398; (e) *Μουσ. τῆς Ἐνδαγγελ. Σχολ.* 1876-1878, p. 30; (f) *IGR* IV 1657 and *BCH* 20 (1896), p. 394; (g) *IGR* IV 1662, 1664 and 1666; (h) KP II 204; (i) *MAMA* V 178, 184; (j) *TAM* V 1.144).

¹⁵ For the alleged coins of Mostene see A. FONTRIER, *Μουσ. καὶ Βιβλ.* 6 (1886), p. 24, and P. FOUCART, *BCH* 11 (1887), p. 89. Support for the claim that Mostene was a Macedonian foundation has also been sought in Tacitus, *Ann.* II 47: *quique Mosteni aut Macedones Hyrcani vocantur*. However, it has been demonstrated by, among others, W.M. RAMSAY, *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 124-125, and V. TSCHERIKOWER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 24, that Tacitus is referring to two different cities. Furthermore, coins of Mostene from the second and first centuries B.C. with the legend ΑΥΔΩΝ ΜΟΕΘΗΝΩΝ (F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *RSN* 1896, p. 250-251) distinguish it from the Macedonian colonies of Lydia.

appears to have been a Macedonian colony. It produced coins with the name Alexander, it used Macedonian month names and even produced an inscription which was set up by someone named «Makedon»¹⁶. Regarding the first point, it is highly unlikely that the Macedonian king is meant; far more probably this Alexander was a local magistrate. As for the second, the use of Macedonian month names was widespread throughout Asia Minor and was not confined to colonies. And lastly, the name «Makedon» used as a personal name (rather than as an ethnic) can not be evidence for the Macedonian origin of the individual, especially since he had a brother named Pamphilos and both were, in turn, the sons of Pamphilos! But it is not just modern scholars who are intent on finding Hellenistic colonies. Stephanus of Byzantium in a confused entry (s.v. *Synnada*) attributes the founding of Synnada in Phrygia to Akamas the son of Theseus who supposedly migrated to Phrygia after the Trojan war and founded the city using, according to Stephanus, «Macedonians and Greeks» to populate it. Clearly Stephanus has conflated a tradition about an earlier migration with one about later Macedonian colonization.

In general, the appearance at a site of a single Macedonian personal name — usually in the Roman period — or Macedonian month names without other supporting information is not sufficient to claim a Hellenistic colonial origin. On the other hand the appearance of a group of Macedonian personal names or the Macedonian shield on a coin makes a stronger claim. By the same token an ethnic on an inscription or coin is clearly an official statement by the issuing party. But even for these latter categories one must be aware — as was the case for the Lydian *katoikiai* — of the time frame of the evidence. It is to this evidence that I now want to turn.

We have information about ‘Macedonians’ in thirteen localities in

¹⁶ For the claim that Amorion was a Macedonian colony see G. RADET, *De coloniis* (n. 5), and E.V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca 1971², p. 175. For coins with the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΜΟΡΙΑΝΩΝ see, for example, *SNG* (von Aulock) 3398. For the claim that this Alexander was a magistrate rather than the Macedonian king see B.V. HEAD, *BMC Phrygia*, p. xxvii and p. 50 n. 23, and F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Wien 1901-1902, p. 198 to nos. 7 and 8. For Macedonian months at Amorion see A.E. KONTOLEON, *MDAI(A)* 14 (1889), p. 90 n. 9, and TCHAKYROGLOU, *Mouseion* 4 (1880), p. 159 and 166. For the use of Macedonian month names in Asia Minor and throughout the Middle East see A.E. SAMUEL, *Greek and Roman Chronology*, München 1972, p. 144 and n. 5. For the inscriptions set up by Makedon and Pamphilos see A.E. KONTOLEON, *art. cit.*, p. 91 n. 11.

Lydia¹⁷. From the Seleucid period we know of only one Macedonian colony, Thyateira¹⁸. Stephanus (s.v. *Thyateira*) ascribes its foundation to Seleucus I. By 274 B.C. there was definitely a colony at the site: a dedication to Apollo dated to the 37th year of the Seleucid era survives (KP II 19). A number of other inscriptions — some dated palaeographically to the early and mid-third century B.C. — record the presence of Macedonians, including a dedication to King Seleucus made by «the *hegemones* and soldiers of the Macedonians at Thyateira» (OGIS I 211). This last quite obviously indicates a group of military colonists.

Most of the evidence — nine localities out of thirteen — for Macedonians in Lydia dates from the second century B.C. when the Attalids controlled the region. From Hyrkanis we have an honorific decree of the early second century B.C. of Amphisssa for a certain Menophantos who bore the double ethnic «Macedonian Hyrkanian»¹⁹. We also have epigraphic evidence — usually dedications — for Macedonians at Akrasos, Dechtheira, Doidye, Kobedyle, -espoura and Lasnedda²⁰: none of these were villages of great importance. The dedications are normally made by organizations οἱ ἐκ or οἱ περὶ τῆς Μακεδόνες. The phraseology — reminiscent of Thyateira — almost certainly indicates groups of soldiers or ex-soldiers. It also brings to mind another Attalid dedication made by οἱ ἐκ ...αλείας στρατιῶται²¹. It is not clear whether the Attalids founded these colonies of Macedonians or whether they inherited them from the Seleucids. The difficulty the Attalids would have had in recruiting Macedonians, if nothing else, favors the latter. If so, then we should have further — albeit indirect — evidence for Seleucid military colonies.

No dedications survive from two of the more important Attalid foundations of Lydia — Apollonis and Philadelphieia — but evidence for Macedonians does exist. From the former we have Macedonian names on ephebic lists of the second century B.C. and the Macedonian

¹⁷ Thyateira, Hyrkanis, Akrasos, Dechtheira, Doidye, Kobedyle, -espoura, Lasnedda, Apollonis, Philadelphieia, Makedones (in the Flavian *conventus* list, see n. 23 below), Mysomakedones and Nakrason. See discussion and evidence below.

¹⁸ On Thyateira in general see V. TSCHERIKOWER, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22, and D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* II, Princeton 1950, p. 977-978.

¹⁹ For the decree honoring Menophantos see W. VOLLGRAFF, *BCH* 25 (1901), p. 234-235.

²⁰ Akrasos: OGIS I 290; Dechtheira: Jeanne & L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 22-23; Doidye: OGIS I 314; Kobedyle: KP II 223 (= TAM V I 221): -espoura: KP I 95; Lasnedda: P. HERRMANN - K.Z. POLATKAN, *SAWW* 265.1 (1969), p. 42-45.

²¹ OGIS I 330 and L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie mineure*, Paris 1962², p. 76-78.

shield on coins of the same period. The same shield can be found on coins of Philadelpheia of the second and first centuries B.C.²² The absence of any evidence for an organization of Macedonians in the cities may simply reflect the silence of our available sources or it may reflect the fact that such organizations played a lesser role in *poleis*.

While Hellenistic Lydia has yielded information on ten centers of Macedonian settlement, Roman Lydia shows evidence for only five. From Thyateira we have an epitaph of Marcus Menophanos Lagidas (KP II 97). The name Lagidas suggests descent from Macedonian ancestors. We find *Makedones* in the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos and *Mysomakedones* mentioned in an inscription of the first century A.D. From Nakrason we have a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of the «Macedonian Nakrasitai» — this from the reign of Hadrian. And Hyrkanis which gave evidence of Macedonians in the Hellenistic age continues to do so under the Empire: there are extant coins and inscriptions of Imperial date with the ethnic «Macedonian Hyrkanian»²³. We also have a third-century A.D. dedication to Zeus Seleukios²⁴. This was undoubtedly a Macedonian god brought to Asia

²² For fragments of ephebic lists from Apollonis see KP I 96 and 97; P. FOUCART, *BCH* 11 (1887), p. 98 n. 6; S. REINACH, *REG* 3 (1890), p. 69 n. 22; and *SEG* XIX 709; in general see L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie mineure*, p. 30-31, 246-248. For the Macedonian shield on coins of Apollonis see, for example, *SNG* (Cop)*Lydia* 16 and L. ROBERT, *AC* (1935), p. 163. For the shield on coins of Philadelpheia see, for example, *SNG* (Cop)*Lydia* 342-347. A coin of Philadelpheia of Imperial date (*BMC Lydia*, p. 198 no. 64) bears the name of the eponymous magistrate, Lagetas, who was probably descended from Macedonians; see L. ROBERT, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* I, Paris 1963, p. 116-119.

Some coins found in the region of Mylasa have the Macedonian shield on them. However, these coins were issued by Eupolemos and not by the city of Mylasa; see, for example, A. AKARCA, *Les monnaies grecques de Mylasa*, Paris 1959, p. 12, 101-102.

²³ For the Flavian *conventus* list from Ephesos see Chr. HABICHT, *JRS* 65 (1975), p. 65. *Mysomakedones*: Pliny, *NH* V 120. Nakrason: *IGR* IV 1160. For coins and inscriptions of Hyrkanis see, for example, *BMC Lydia*, p. 122-125 nos. 1-3, 17, 22, and *IGR* IV 1354.

²⁴ For the dedication to Zeus Seleukios found at Alibeyli near ancient Hyrkanis see Jeanne & L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* VI (1948), p. 24-26. A second dedication to Zeus Seleukios has been found farther east in Lydia near the town of Kula. The dedication was made by the *katoikia* of Nisyra and is dated to 228/9 A.D. (KP II 200 = *TAM* V 1 426). It would be most attractive to suggest that the *katoikoi* of Nisyra were descended from the original Seleucid colonists and were making a dedication to this god of the Macedonians, just as their ancestors had done. However, the inscription only shows the inhabitants of the *katoikia* offering a dedication. It does not indicate whether they were in fact descendants of colonists or simply peasants worshipping a god brought in by the Hellenistic colonists.

Minor by the original Seleucid colonists at Hyrkanis. The appearance of Macedonians in both Hellenistic and Roman Hyrkanis brings out an interesting fact: the evidence for Macedonians in Lydia runs continuously from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. This stands in contrast to the situation in Phrygia where Macedonians appear only in the second and third centuries A.D.

Blaundos has yielded a third-century A.D. decree of «Macedonian Blaundians» as well as coins with the same title. A similar double ethnic from the same period can be seen on the coins of Peltai and Dokimion. In connection with the latter I might mention a short inscription from the Konya museum which was recently published; it contains a dedication made by two sculptors from Dokimion, one of whom had a Macedonian name, Limnaios²⁵. From Hierapolis, which we now know was a Seleucid colony, we have inscriptions with the ethnic *Makedonikos* and *Makedoniane*²⁶. An inscription of Imperial date found at the modern Çorhisar in Phrygia honors a certain Alexander who is described as *Makedon* (possibly the great king) as founder of the city. Farther east, in Cilicia, Aegeai minted coins in the third century A.D. with the legend *Makedonike*²⁷.

In addition to claims of Macedonian descent, various Phrygian towns were boasting of other Hellenic origins. Significantly, all this boasting suddenly became popular in the Imperial period. The presence of Dorians and Ionians in Synnada is attested by coinage of this time. At Eumeneia the double ethnic «Eumeneian Achaian» is found on coins

²⁵ Blaundos: *IGR* IV 717 and, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia* 87-90, 94-100. Peltai: for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia*, 638-642. Dokimion: see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Lydia*, 352, 357, 360; for the dedication with the name Limnaios see A. HALL – M. WAELKENS, *AS* 32 (1982), p. 152-155. On Macedonian names see also L. ROBERT, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), p. 71-76, and *Noms indigènes*, p. 116-119.

²⁶ For the ethnic *Makedon*, *Makedonikos* and *Makedoniane* at Hierapolis see C. HUMANN et al., *Altertümer von Hierapolis (Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft 4)*, Berlin 1898, no. 339a, 153 and 225. The proof that Hierapolis was a Seleucid foundation is provided by inscriptions found in the theater containing the names of the city tribes. Among the tribal names were Seleukis, Antiochis and Laodikis (F. KOLBE, *ZPE* 15, 1974, p. 255-270).

²⁷ For the inscription honoring Alexander (*IGR* IV 692) see V. TSCHERIKOWER, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 34-35, who suggested this was the Macedonian king. W.M. RAMSAY, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (n. 6), p. 702-703, and E. LEGRAND – J. CHAMONARD, *BCH* 17 (1893), p. 278, identify Alexander as a local citizen. For coins of Aegeai with legend MAKEAONIKH see, for example, *SNG* (von Aulock) 5455, 5458 and P. WEISS, *Chiron* 12 (1982), p. 198.

from Hadrian to Gallienus²⁸. Farther east, on the Phrygian–Pisidian border Neapolis, Apollonia and possibly Antioch as well laid claim to Lycian and Thracian ancestry²⁹. This searching for ancestry — or roots, to use a contemporary term — became especially popular in the second and third centuries A.D. It will be recalled that in 131/2 Hadrian established the Panhellenion at Athens³⁰. Membership in the Panhellenic synedrion was open to all Hellenes, irrespective of how remote they were from Greece. So it was that at this time many cities of Asia Minor became concerned with being *eugenes*. To have *eugeneia* meant to have descent from colonists from the Greek mainland. A Macedonian or Thracian origin did not qualify one for being *eugenes*, but the motive for the boast was undoubtedly rooted in the same conceit and the same vanity.

In short, three possibilities emerge for the origin of the Macedonians of Roman Phrygia: (a) they were descended from real Macedonians who fought or came with Alexander, Antigonos or one of the Seleucids; (b) they were descended from soldiers who had fought in Macedonian divisions but who were not necessarily Macedonians themselves; or (c) they contrived their ancestry. Whatever their origin it must be emphasized that the extant evidence for Macedonians in Phrygia is late — three to five hundred years after the time of the alleged foundings. Furthermore it only proclaims an ethnic origin for the inhabitants. It provides no indication of any military character or organization.

²⁸ Synnada: see, for example, *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 717, 720, 735. Eumeneia: Th. DREW-BEAR, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Phrygie*, Zutphen 1978, p. 67 n. 2, and, for example, *SNG (Cop) Phrygia* 388-389, 395-398.

²⁹ For Neapolis see the restored inscription which is dated palaeographically to the third century A.D.: [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Νεαπολιτῶν Λυκίων Θ]ρακῶν κολόνων τὸν ναόν (W.M. CALDER, *AJA* 36, 1932, p. 454 no. 5). From Apollonia we have coins and inscriptions with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ ΘΡΑΚΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝΩΝ (often in abbreviated form and with the last word [or last two words] omitted); see, for example, H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens* II, Tübingen 1977, p. 56-63 nos. 64-206, and *IGR* III 314, 317, 318 and 324. It is probable that the Lycians and Thracians were settled in the Hellenistic period and that the *kolones* were Roman colonists; see Jeanne & L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1958, no. 457 and S. MITCHELL, *Proceedings X International Congress of Classical Archaeology* 1973 (ed. A. AKURGAL), Ankara 1978, p. 314-318.

In *JRS* 12 (1922), p. 186, W.M. RAMSAY announced the discovery of an «inscription of pre-Roman time ... containing a list of citizens [of Antioch], all Thracians». Unfortunately the inscription was never published.

³⁰ For the Panhellenion at Athens see H. WEBER, *MDAI(A)* 84 (1969), p. 188-189; A.S. BENJAMIN, *Hesperia* 32 (1963), p. 57-86; and P. GRAINDOR, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo 1934, p. 102-111.

The results of this brief exercise are rather sobering. In the past when they discussed Hellenistic colonization, scholars tended to consider Lydia and Phrygia as a unit. Obviously we must pay closer attention to the geographic and chronological framework of the evidence, because it is clear the two regions have each produced distinct patterns of epigraphic and numismatic evidence. While the term *katoikos* is found in both Hellenistic and Roman Lydia, *katoikia* is limited to the later period. There is no evidence yet to indicate the terms penetrated far into Phrygia. The evidence for Macedonians runs continuously from the Hellenistic to the Roman period in Lydia, though its occurrence falls off significantly under the Empire. In Phrygia, on the other hand, Macedonians do not even appear until the Roman period.

As regards the relevance of this evidence to the Seleucid colonization program, it is clear that the forty five examples of *katoikoi* and *katoikiai* of Roman Lydia give no indication at all of a military character or any link with the Seleucid colonization program. The Macedonians of Lydia certainly were descendants of colonists and had a military organization, those in Phrygia give no hint of a military character but were possibly descended from colonists as well.

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STATUS AND STATUS-CONCERN IN THE GRECO-ROMAN DREAM-BOOKS

In Greco-Roman society status was of paramount concern. Not only were legal rights bestowed according to one's standing, but all social intercourse was determined to a greater or lesser degree by the perception of the participants' position in society¹. Status and the power associated with it were frequently flaunted — as Ramsay MacMullen has shown, such public displays also served as a defence against potential threats to one's repute². Yet, however much effort might be put into its preservation, status could never be regarded as a permanent possession. While inherited rank would appear to have a fixed quality, it was always possible for the prominent (as evidenced by membership in the senate or the equestrian and decurional classes) to fall from power. Sometimes this was the outcome of political failure, but more often it was the result of difficulties in maintaining the level of wealth which was a corequisite for success. Indeed, rivals from outside the recognised status groups might on occasion become sufficiently prosperous to threaten the self-esteem of the established groups. The concern this created can be seen most clearly in the resentment felt towards the elite group of imperial ex-slaves by members of the free upper classes³. Thus the apparent contradiction between the seemingly

¹ R. MACMULLEN, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, New Haven 1988, p. 70, indicates that the unofficial recognition of status differences might be as important as legally recognised rights. He quotes as typical the remark of Artemidorus (I 32): παραιρείται γὰρ καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων παρρησίαν πένια.

By Greco-Roman world, I will be referring to the Hellenised society throughout the Roman Empire, particularly that of the high empire. Evidence from outside this period will also be cited on occasion, since there is a continuity of social organization in this society which extends through the periods of political change from classical Greece into the Christian era — see G.E.M. DE STE. CROIX, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, London 1981, p. 7-9, for a defence of using this chronologically extended period for social investigation of the Greek world. De Ste. Croix makes a plea for the analysis of ancient society by *class* rather than *status* (p. 81-97) in order to place the emphasis on the exploitative nature of social divisions in the ancient world. However, in this article I prefer to concentrate on *status*, as more clearly reflecting the aspirations and anxieties for advancement or failure as perceived by the various social groups.

² R. MACMULLEN, *Personal Power in the Roman Empire*, *AJPh* 107 (1986), p. 512-524; *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 50-121 («Power Effective»).

³ E.g. Tac., *Ann.* XII 53; Pliny, *Ep.* VIII 6; together with the bibliographical references in T.E.J. WIEDEMANN, *Slavery (Greece and Rome New Surveys, 19)*, Oxford 1987, p. 41-46.

static nature of membership in the ruling classes and the possible acquisition of prestige with resultant social mobility is a basic feature of Greco-Roman society, allowing the society as a whole to adapt but only at the cost of continuing social tension.

Attitudes to status and status anxiety have most often been deduced from statements made by the literate section of Greco-Roman society, that is, the upper classes. As is true for most topics in ancient history, the views of the less privileged are more difficult to discern. There is, however, one type of literature which can give us useful insights across a broad cross-section of the populace into the concern for status — the dream-books, written for use by anyone who wished to interpret their dreams or those of others. In particular, since his stated aim is to write a work offering explanations which could be tailored to suit all clients, the second century AD writer, Artemidorus, is a most valuable source for popular ideas and ideals. While a number of scholars have already recognised the worth of Artemidorus' work as evidence for Roman social history⁴, until now the subject of status and status concerns in his work has not been treated as a separate topic. This paper will first investigate the nature of the dream-interpreter's work in antiquity to determine the extent to which his predictions conform with the social realities of the period. I then wish to explore certain specific themes in the dreams which are indicative of status concerns. Since Artemidorus' book is only the first extant example of a large number of works interpreting dreams⁵, and is followed by a line of manuals of late

The classic description of the problems of status dissonance is K. HOPKINS, *Social Mobility in the Roman Empire*, P&P 32 (1965) p. 12-26.

⁴ S. LAUKAMM, *Das Sittenbild des Artemidor von Ephesus*, *Angelos* 3 (1928), p. 32-71, is particularly useful for the comparative material collected from the New Testament, but is not always reliable on the Artemidoran material; R. PACK, *Artemidorus and his Waking World*, *TAPhA* 86 (1955), p. 280-290, is an excellent introduction to the subject; R. MACMULLEN, *Social History in Astrology*, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 105-117, briefly touches upon Artemidorus in association with the astrological authors Vettius Valens and Claudius Ptolemy; D. DEL CORNO, *I sogni e la loro interpretazione nell'età dell'impero*, in *ANRW* II 16.2 (1978), p. 1605-1618, offers an excellent summary of the work of the onirocritic authors of the Roman period. The excellent recent study of H. KLEES, *Griechisches und Römisches in der Traumdeutung Artemidors für Herren und Sklaven*, in C. BÖRKER – M. DONDERER (edd.), *Das antike Rom und Osten*, Erlangen 1990, p. 53-76, discusses a number of points in common with this article.

Unless otherwise specified, quotations will refer to Artemidorus, who will be cited by the Teubner edition of R.A. PACK, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon libri V*, Leipzig 1963.

⁵ For testimony and fragments of the earlier dream-books, see D. DEL CORNO, *Graecorum de re onirocritica scriptorum reliquiae*, Milan 1969.

Roman and Byzantine provenance⁶, I will also be referring to other onirocritic material to indicate the extent of Artemidorus' reliance on preset traditions or his independence within the genre.

To begin with the dream-interpreter and the nature of his work: it is clear that the professional interpreters who set down the skills of their science were male⁷ and of at least modest means, although the range of their clients was much wider. The most illustrious author of a dream-book prior to Artemidorus was Nigidius Figulus (the author of the only onirocritic work in Latin of which we are aware) and writers of the stature of Cratippus and Posidonius discussed the interpretation of dreams in their works on divination⁸. But most of the authors of the handbooks seem to have been much less distinguished. Artemidorus himself had the wealth to travel around the Mediterranean (I *Praef.*) and could perhaps count among his friends the philosopher Maximus of Tyre as the dedicatee of his first three books⁹. This would suggest that Artemidorus himself was a fairly respected member of his community, despite the disdain with which dream-interpreters were sometimes

⁶ There is a very useful introduction, translation, commentary, and topical index to this material in R. OBERHELMAN, *The Oneirocritic Literature of the Late Roman and Byzantine Eras*, Diss. Minnesota 1981. The medieval Latin dream-book based on this tradition, the *Somniale Danielis*, has recently been edited by L.T. MARTIN (Frankfurt 1981).

⁷ References to female dream-interpreters are rare: an *ὄνειροκρίτις* is mentioned in *IG* III 142 and the only Latin example of which I am aware is Plaut., *Mil.* 693, where a typical *mala uxor* is depicted as badgering her husband for money to spend on a list of female charlatans (in addition to a *coniectrix* [= *ὄνειροκρίτις*], a *praecantrix*, *hariola*, and *haruspica* are listed). The indication in Plautus that women would prefer to consult «dream-experts» of their own sex may partly account for the reduced number of references to female clients in the writings of the male interpreters. But other factors (the dominant role of males in the society and the reduced discretionary income of females) may be as significant in producing gender bias in our evidence.

Note that in this study I am deliberately avoiding discussion of medical dream-interpretation such as is associated particularly with incubation at the temples of Serapis and Aesculapius, since this would appear from the evidence of Aelius Aristides and other sources to represent a peculiar sub-genre of explanation of dreams.

⁸ DEL CORNO, *op. cit.* (Nigidius: p. 98, 196-197; Cratippus: p. 76-77, 158-160; Posidonius: p. 84-97, 167-196). The humbler dream-interpreters might simply be content with a table of dream-types (*πινάκιον ὄνειροκριτικόν* — Plut., *Arist.* 17.3).

⁹ The identification of the Cassius Maximus, Artemidorus' dedicatee, with Maximus of Tyre, was first made by W. REICHART, *De Artemidoro Daldiano*, Jena 1893, p. 126. The interest of philosophers in the predictive 'sciences' can be seen not only in the philosophical works of the Stoics and Platonists, but in the linking of philosophers and astrologers under Domitian's ban of AD 93 (*Suda*, s.v. Δομητιανός).

treated and, on occasion, their uncertain legal status¹⁰. Later writers, however, seem to seek to hide their lack of distinction by their pseudonyms. Typical is the masquerade of the *Somniale Danielis*, which purports to be the advice tendered by Daniel to the elders of Babylon. Other works usurp the names of Byzantine patriarchs (such as Nicephorus and Romanos) or emperors (Manuel Palaeologus), and the last major work descended from the classical tradition, the *Dream Book of Achmet*, is almost certainly composed by a Christian Greek, despite its claim to be the work of a certain Achmet, the dream-interpreter for the Caliph of Baghdad¹¹.

The interpreters' clients, as is indicated by Artemidorus and Achmet in particular, were a much more diverse group. Most customers would appear to be male, from an urban background, and of some moderate means. While the dream-interpreter would himself need to be literate to

¹⁰ The legal status of dream-interpretation is unclear. Frequently, the dream-interpreters are linked in our sources to astrologers and other diviners, who were subject to frequent expulsion from Rome and just as eagerly retained. But it is possible that the *oneirokritikoi* were regarded as less of a general threat to public order, since after the treason trial of Libo in AD 16, whom Tacitus describes as prey to the *Chaldaei, magi*, and *somniorum interpretes* (Ann. II 27.2), only the *mathematici* and *magi* are banned from Italy (Tac., Ann. II 32.3; Dio LVII 15.8 [ἄστρολόγοι, γοήτες]; Ulpian, Coll. Mos. et Rom. leg. 15.1 [*Chaldaei arioli et ceteri, qui simile inceptum fecerint*]; cf. Goodyear on Tac., Ann. II 32.2). Ulpian, loc. cit., notes that despite the ban, the *mathematici* had continued to publicly practise their arts — this, he declares, should be taken as a sign of their audacity, rather than as an indication that it was misuse of prediction alone which was a concern for the courts. But Cod. Theod. IX 16.9 makes a distinction in permitting traditional divination (*haruspicia*) as distinct from magical practices. The dream-interpreters may thus be exempt — there is evidence to suggest that they were often interested in other forms of divination as well (*Suda*, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος, attributes works on palmistry and divination to Artemidorus in addition to his *Oneirokritika*; it may not be accidental that Greg. Nyss., *Contra fatum* 60 divides the arts of foretelling the future into dream-interpretation, palmistry, and the observance of omens ἐξ οἰωνισμῶν ἢ κληδόνων ἢ τινῶν συμβόλων). In Tac., Ann. XI 4.2, it is presumably the politically significant interpretation put on the dream rather than the act of interpretation itself which is treasonous. It should also be noted that Artemidorus' career occurs in a long period where no expulsions are recorded (the last being under Domitian in AD 93, the next under Aurelius in 175) and that he was mainly operating outside Italy and so not subject to banning orders. Furthermore, that the legitimacy of the profession of dream-interpretation was regularly accepted is suggested by the references to δνειροσκόποι, δνειροκάπηλοι and δνειροπῶλοι in Basil, when he accuses his opponents of hiring the dream-interpreters to make up slanders against him (Ep. CCVII, CCX, CCXI). Despite the abusive tone, there is no hint that the use of dream-merchants is in itself illegal.

¹¹ On Achmet, see H.G. BECK, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, Munich 1977, p. 203; R. OBERHELMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 63-64.

make use of Artemidorus' book¹², it is clear that not all his clients would be able to read. Those who can read letters in their dreams (III 44) may be assumed to have at least minimal knowledge of the alphabet, but need not be capable of writing documents. Many dreamers may only recognize that there is something written in the letter¹³. Others again can only make out individual signs (III 34) or are clearly illiterate, since to dream that one is learning the alphabet indicates something good happening to the dreamer after much toil and dread (I 53: μετὰ πόνου καὶ φόβου) — a description of the methods of education in the ancient world which is all too well supported by other sources¹⁴. But in general, Artemidorus advises against overvaluing book-learning — rather than penning elegant compositions, he claims to draw on his years of experience to record unvarnished accounts of dreams and their outcomes. The value of his dream-book lies in its practical usefulness to the interpreter in his daily efforts¹⁵. The practitioner should use his own judgement in applying the textbook to those cases which are presented to him. This, it should be noted, is not merely sensible advice, but also a necessity if the profession is to maintain its exclusivity. If it were too easy to explain dreams, anyone could become an *oneirokritikos* and the public regard for the practice would be substantially reduced¹⁶.

Apart from the free male populace, slaves also consulted the dream-

¹² This is not necessarily the case with the common or garden dream-interpreter of little reputation (τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, οὓς δὴ προίκτας καὶ γόητας καὶ βωμολόχους ἀποκαλοῦσιν οἱ σεμνοπροσωποῦντες καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνεσπακότες, I *Praef.*), whom Artemidorus prides himself on consulting in order to gain material additional to that supplied by older written sources.

¹³ If the letter cannot be read, it is to be considered propitious, since it is general knowledge that all letters begin with salutations (χαῖρε, ἔρρωσω). On the distinctions between the various levels of literacy, see now W.V. HARRIS, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1989, p. 3-10 (cf. his remarks on Artemidorus, p. 274).

¹⁴ Cf. S.F. BONNER, *Education in Ancient Rome*, London 1977, p. 126-145; the lines copied four times on a whitened tablet by different pupils: «I must work hard or I will be thrashed» (p. 61); Quintilian's comments on corporal punishment as a means of education (*I.O.* I 3.14-17); or the wall-painting from Pompeii, showing a pupil being thrashed (p. 118).

¹⁵ Artem., V *Praef.*: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας πίστιν ἅμα καὶ ὠφέλειαν συναγαγεῖν προεθέμην.

¹⁶ Cf. IV 20, where Artemidorus advises his son to proffer plausible explanations (πιθανὰς τινας ἀποδείξεις), since barebones accounts will make him appear inexperienced (ἥττον εἶναι δόξεις ἔμπειρος). Artemidorus also suggests that his son not divulge the material in the last two books to outsiders, but use it to gain a headstart on his competitors (τὰ ... γραφησόμενα μένοντα ... παρὰ σοι πάντων ὑπέρτερον ἢ οὐδενός γε λειπόμενον ὀνειροκριτικὸν σε ποιήσῃ: IV *Praef.*).

interpreter. Since they must usually have had to pay for the consultation, it is not a cross-section of the servile population, but mainly its elite that we meet in the dream-books. There are no dreams of rural slaves, who would have been the majority of slaves in the ancient world¹⁷. Rather, the slave clients appear to be urban-dwellers, often holding positions of responsibility, who have often acquired a sufficient *peculium* to be able to hope for their freedom.

Among females, the unfree would appear to be under-represented¹⁸ — but probably most of the prostitutes who appear frequently in Artemidorus would be servile. Free women appear mainly in their domestic roles as wives. Sisters are less frequently mentioned than brothers, daughters less often than sons¹⁹. It is perhaps significant that the dream of a low-status wet-nurse (I 41) is seen as affecting not her but the child in her care — the nurse is merely viewed as an accompanying feature of child-rearing, with little independent significance. It is notable too how often women are viewed in terms of misogynistic stereotypes. As the left is unfavourable in comparison with the right, so the female is inauspicious in comparison with the male (I 21). Thus to dream that one has changed from male to female is bad, since women are weaker than men and confined to the home (I 50). Significantly, the reverse dream is not recorded. That a wife who opposes her husband (μάχιμον: I 52) is a distinctly unhappy prospect for a bridegroom is a conclusion to be expected in a male-dominated society.

In addition to gender considerations, Artemidorus stresses that interpretations must be made relative to cultural factors. Although the

¹⁷ Cf. K. HOPKINS, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge 1978, p. 8-14.

¹⁸ The numbers of female slaves in the Roman world cannot be satisfactorily estimated, but it is generally felt that there would be considerable numbers in the urban household environment: W.V. HARRIS, *Towards a Study of the Roman Slave Trade*, *MAAR* 36 (1980), p. 117-140 at p.119; K.R. BRADLEY, *On the Roman Slave Supply and Slavebreeding*, in M.I. FINLEY (ed.), *Classical Slavery*, London 1987, p. 42-64.

¹⁹ Artemidorus' comment on dreams of having sex with one's sister, that these need not be discussed (περί δὲ ἀδελφῆς περισσὸν λέγειν) as they mean the same as having sex with one's daughter (I 78), is not simply a passing dismissal. Women will normally be either viewed as daughters or as wives. This may be partially confirmed by V 43, where a man sees his father separate his sister from her husband (which is interpreted as portending the death of the dreamer, as his soul [sister] would be torn away from his body by destiny [his father]). References to brothers are much more common e.g. in Artemidorus I: 24, 26, 40, 41, 43, 78. The preponderance of references to male children is reinforced by the number of apparently generic references to children which in fact indicate sons, e.g. a beard is a bad sign as premature for a child (παῖδι: I 40), which clearly concerns males only. In I 50, dreams of age transformation involve children turning into older *males* and vice versa.

subject matter of the dreams is generally interpreted in the context of the mixed Greco-Roman culture of the high empire, the interpreter is advised to tailor his advice to the ethnic differences amongst his clients. Thus, if appropriate, attention must be paid to the custom among the Thracians of tattooing noble youths. Among the Getae, who instead tattoo their slaves, a different interpretation would be needed (I 8). In IV 3, Artemidorus impresses on his son the need to learn the local customs and peculiarities (ἔθῃ δὲ τὰ τοπικὰ καὶ τῶν τόπων τὸ ἴδιον). Bull-fighting is respectable in some eastern cities (Ephesus, Larissa, and Eleusis are mentioned), but otherwise is a fate reserved for condemned criminals (I 8). Furthermore, changes in habits over the years must be taken into account: bathing was once seen as a bad sign, since it was a rare event, occurring only after fighting or strenuous effort. With the availability of public baths in Artemidorus' time, it could no longer be so interpreted. More closely corresponding to the changed times is the view of the baths as a «road to extravagance» (I 64). Yet not all the dream-books made the adjustment. For instance, bathing still indicates anxiety, following the earlier interpretation, in the medieval *Somniale Danielis* (142).

Of prime concern to the practitioner is the nature of the dreamer himself. Artemidorus counsels the dream-interpreter to inquire into the nature of his client: who is he, what he does, his birth (ὅπως γέγονε), his wealth (ὅ τι ἔχει κτῆμα), his physical condition, and his age (I 9). What might otherwise be considered «natural» dreams will be more significant if they do not correspond to the nature of the dreamer (I 3: τὰ φύσει βλεπόμενα τῶν οὐ βλεπομένων φύσει δεινότερα τοῖς ὄρωσιν, εἰ μὴ χρησιμεύοι διὰ τὰς ὑποκειμένας τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑποστάσεις). Other dreams may only be important if they reflect the status of the dreamer. Thus dreams which affect the whole state, the so-called «public» dreams (τὰ δημόσια: I 2), are only appropriate to members of the ruling class, although in a democracy this proviso will encompass all members of the demos.

Such attempts to have the best of all worlds may cast doubt on the scientific validity of Artemidorus' method. But they also indicate how the dream-interpreter tailors his interpretation according to the perceived status of the inquirer, judging the probability of any outcome before proffering an explanation. By contrast, the works of the great modern explicator of dreams, Sigmund Freud, appear much more restricted to the concerns of the middle classes of nineteenth-century

Vienna²⁰. Nor do most other dream-books in the ancient world pay much attention to the dreamer. The normal practice is to simply offer a dream symbol and an interpretation which is causally linked. For instance, «to see the sea calm indicates success» (Nikephorus 111: Θάλασσαν ἰδεῖν μειδιῶσαν εὖ ἔχει) uses metaphor to extend the propitiousness of a calm sea for sailors into a universal symbol of success²¹.

Only the medieval work of Achmet²², which draws on Artemidorus at least in part²³, shows similarity in the subtlety of its approach. Ahmet warns against applying the same dream-interpretation to all: a king will need his own interpretation, while the dreams of the rich and powerful will differ from those of the poor. So too the dreams of women and men will have different significance. It is even possible to distinguish visions seen in summer or winter (Achmet: 2) or in the morning or evening (301) — a form of subtlety which is rejected by Artemidorus (I 7) and which is not actually used by Achmet in his interpretations²⁴. Indeed, whereas Achmet sometimes distinguishes between types of dreamer — for instance, in assessing the significance of a blocked nose for king, commoner, or woman (57) — he is just as likely to revert to the generic form of explanation. For instance, to collect cow dung signifies gaining wealth from the powerful (237) — an explanation which would be appropriate for a commoner, but hardly for a king. Since the dream-interpreter's clients are more likely to be commoners rather than royalty, it would appear that the general tendency of Achmet is to interpret from the majority viewpoint and

²⁰ The work of Artemidorus and Freud (who was well aware of the former's efforts) is evaluated by S. PRICE, *The Future of Dreams: from Freud to Artemidorus*, P&P 113 (1986), p. 3-37. For an interesting attempt to deliberately collect the dreams of working class subjects on the grounds that they have been ignored by traditional Freudian psychology, see J. DUVIGNARD – F. DUVIGNARD – J.P. CORBEAU, *La Banque des Rêves*, Paris 1979.

²¹ F. DREXL, *Das Traumbuch des Patriarchen Nikephoros*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des christlichen Altertums und der byzantinischen Literatur*, Bonn 1922, p. 94-118. I am not qualified to assess dream interpretations other than the Greek and Roman, but if the examples given by N. LEWIS, *The Interpretation of Dreams and Portents*, Toronto 1976, p. 7-19, are typical for the Babylonians and the Egyptians, the earliest dream-books also ignored the status of the dreamer.

²² *Achmetis Oneirocritikon*, ed. F. DREXL, Leipzig 1925.

²³ R. OBERHELMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 63-64.

²⁴ The change in dreams according to season is also known to Basil, who declares that his opponents will be unable to make any charge of blasphemy stick, «even if they take into their heads all the dreams of autumn (τὰ τῶν φυλλοχρονων μηνῶν φαντάσματα)» (Ep. ccvii). Presumably this refers to the delirium of autumn fevers.

intersperse his accounts with the exceptional cases which affect other members of society, such as the king²⁵. Overall, the impression left by reading Achmet is that he is catering to a society with less gradations of status than Artemidorus expects and where there is much less social mobility. Royalty, nobility, and the commoners are the main social groupings in Achmet's day, while slaves are much less frequently discussed — an indication that Achmet's explanations mirror the social realities of the medieval period, reflecting substantial changes from the Greco-Roman world.

It is the fact that Artemidorus bases his interpretations so firmly on the social reality of his times which makes him such a valuable source for social history. His aim is not to explain the psychological state of the dreamer, but to cater for the client's immediate needs. The value of the predictive dream lies in its coming from a foreign source and in its being a valid external phenomenon²⁶. Dreams which are immediately recognisable as a response to some stimulus — for instance, a thirsty man dreaming of drinking, a lover dreaming of the beloved (I 2)²⁷ or even the false dreams caused by mental worries and melancholy (I 6) — are instead regarded as non-significant and ignored.

Once again, the competitive nature of the dream-interpreter's enterprise seems likely to account for the categorizing of dreams. The demand for exegesis is most likely to arise for dreams which are beyond the customer's ability to analyse by himself. The solutions suggested will also be responses to market forces. While the dreams themselves may be bizarre, the predictions made must not be excessive and, indeed, those recorded by Artemidorus tend toward the commonplace. But it is here that one *oneirokritikos* can display his superiority over his rivals,

²⁵ So in the same chapter, Achmet notes the significance of well-fattened cows for the ruler as indicating prosperity to him and his kingdom.

²⁶ For dreams viewed as external occurrences, not internalised concerns as we tend to envisage them under the influence of Freud, see A.H.M. KESSELS, *Ancient Systems of Dream Classification*, *Mnemosyne* s. IV 22 (1969), p. 389-424, and in particular, R.G.A. VAN LIESHOUT, *Greeks on Dreams*, Utrecht 1980, who traces the Greek attitude to dreams from Homer to the Classical period. Since such outside stimuli must be regarded as real, Christians too had to accept the validity of predictive dreams, while admitting that the most significant feature would be the source of the dreams (demonic; divine, as in the cases of Joseph and Daniel; or simply uncertain). For this, the *locus classicus* is Synesius, *Περὶ Ἐνύπνιον* (in *Synesii Cyrenensis Hymni Opuscula*, ed. N. TERZAGHI, Rome 1944).

²⁷ Wet-dreams (ὄνειρωγμοί: I 1) were nevertheless of interest to the ancient physicians as indications of a physical response to a physical stimulus — J. PIGEAUD, *Le rêve érotique dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine: l'oneirogmos*, *Littérature, Médecine, Société* 3 (1981), p. 10-23.

using his personal observation to tailor his reply to the client rather than rely on book-learning (I 12), sometimes disguising the banality of the advice given by referring to riddles, cryptic explanations, and anagrams²⁸. It is important, Artemidorus says, to note the dreamer's response to the dream before interpretation (I 13). Status must also be taken into account: the dreams of lower class clients will predict smaller changes in their lives than those of the upper classes (IV 83)²⁹. Initially, one of the most surprising features of Artemidorus' explanations is the rejection of the underprivileged in line with the values of the upper classes of his day. Poor people are likened to the humble places where dung is thrown (II 9: ἐοίκασιν οἱ πένητες χωρίοις λιτοῖς καὶ ἀσῆμοις, εἰς ἃ κόπρια ῥίπτεται ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν φαυλῶν). It is bad for a poor man to dream of a gold wreath since it is beyond his status (I 77: διὰ τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν). Furthermore, advice given by the poor in dreams is not reliable. In this they are linked with sophists, religious charlatans, self-mutilators, and the castrated (II 69: καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ πένητες καὶ γάλλοι καὶ ἀπόκοποι καὶ σπάδοντες). To dream of being poor is particularly bad for orators and men of letters, since to be without means is the same as having nothing to say (IV 18). In similar vein, toads, oak-snakes, and red-snakes indicate the rustic and inurbane who will injure the dreamer (II 13). All these derogatory references to the poor and non-city dwellers suggest that it is not merely the attitude of Artemidorus that is being revealed. Since he can be seen to be responding to his clients' values, it is likely that, as is common in many societies, the Greco-Roman lower classes have adopted the values of their upper classes. These examples would suggest that this also entailed a strong element of self-loathing, an attitude which can readily be paralleled among the servile classes at Rome³⁰.

²⁸ See, for instance: IV 23 on anagrams; I 11 on the transposition of letters or syllables to obtain a coherent idea; III 38 on the use of etymologies.

²⁹ The contrast between the interpretations offered to the rich and the poor has been usefully treated by A. FILIPPO, *La simbologia della ricchezza e della povertà nell' "Onirocriticon" di Artemidoro*, *Quaderni Camerti di Studi Romanistici* 13 (1985), p. 425-438, who sees this as corresponding to the traditional Greek ideal of μῆδεν ἄγαν. Thus the poor may rightly dream of riches, while the rich will overstep the mark by such dreams and their impoverishment be predicted. However, while I accept the rejection of excess in Artemidorus' interpretations, I would attribute this more to the difficulty in otherwise explaining a desire expressed in a dream which had already been fulfilled in the case of the wealthy. I am not convinced that Artemidorus normally displays moralising tendencies in his interpretations.

³⁰ O. PATTERSON, *Slavery and Social Death*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982, p. 87-92.

Having examined the nature of the dream-interpreter, his methods, and his clients, it will now be possible to investigate specific themes in Artemidorus to see what light the dreams and their explanations shed on the status concerns of his age. In general, a dream will portend some good or harm to the dreamer. Less often, someone closely related, such as a father, brother, or daughter, will be affected instead. This reflects the social circle of the dreamer — as Artemidorus states, no one dreams about something that has not previously been thought about (I 2). It is thus impossible for the dream of someone who is poor and powerless to affect the community as a whole; but the dream of a ruler will have correspondingly wider significance. But if too close a connection with the dreamer's present circumstances is displayed in a dream, this should be rejected by the dream-interpreter. He should concern himself with ἀλληγορικοί ὄνειροι, dreams which indicate the future by indirect reference, rather than with anxiety (μεριμνηματικοί) or petitioning (αἰτηματικοί) dreams (I 6; IV 2). These are not external phenomena, but are similar to physical ἐνύπνια in arising from concentration directed not, in this case, by the body, but by the mind. In practice, such fine lines cannot be drawn — Artemidorus notes that those who are versed in dreamlore will tend to dream apparently significant ἐνύπνια (IV *Praef.*). In reality, these may merely be reflections of their fears and hopes. One particularly interesting example features an *eques* who had requested a military appointment from the emperor (IV 28). He dreamed that he was crowned with a garland of olive leaves. If he had received the commission desired, the dream would presumably have to be considered as a manifestation of the dreamer's anxiety. In fact, he was denied his petition, but married instead — an outcome which changed the dream from being an obvious prediction into an allegorical statement of the future.

If the dream does not fall into one of the non-significant categories (a useful escape clause for the interpreter³¹), it may then be interpreted. I

³¹ In IV 59, Artemidorus illustrates the need to examine the character (τὰ ἦθη) of the client by the case of one man who dreamt that he had practised cunnilingus (ἀρρητοποεῖν) on his wife and another who had been fellated (ἀρρητοποεῖσθαι) by his wife. Although the dream should have predicted some disaster for each, there was no result. It turned out that this was simply their customary sexual practice and so each was simply imagining what he desired (πρὸς ἃ δὲ ἐπτοημένοι ἦσαν, ταῦτα ἐβλεπον).

In this context, it should be noted that Artemidorus' delicacy in his choice of terms for sexual acts (e.g. ἀρρητοποεῖν instead of λαικάζειν) is further evidence for a status gap between the dream-interpreter and his clients (who, at least in everyday usage, could use

do not wish to trace the various methods of interpretation which tend to be based either on metonymies and metaphors or on direct opposites. Such a 'system' is clearly so general as to admit almost any possibility. Rather, it is the subject matter of the predictions which is of interest. I will begin by looking at some of the general features of this material which are significant for social history before examining some particular examples in depth.

Notable is the emphasis on health and illness, which is not surprising given the poor state of housing and hygiene and generally low life expectancy in the ancient world³². In particular, it is striking how often the death of a child is mentioned. The birth of a child might be thought to be an occasion for rejoicing, but in fact indicates pain and concern (φροντίδας γὰρ καὶ λύπας σημαίνει: I 15). At least a male child will finally bring some advantage, while a female predicts an unsuccessful conclusion and expense as well (τὰ δὲ θηλυκὰ χεῖρονα τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπάγει καὶ ζημίαν προαγορεύει). Another risk for parents, apart from health concerns, is a lost child — although in IV 33, a woman who lost her child after a dream manages to find him three days later. In general, Artemidorus would appear to support the notion of an ancient nuclear family³³, given the frequency of references to immediate relatives. The master of the household holds a fairly brutal sway over all, with the exception of his wife — to dream of striking a member of the household is good, except if one dreams of hitting one's wife, since that predicts adultery (II 48). In fact, to be insulted by one's wife is a distinct blow to one's social status. A man who dreamt that this occurred to him was the next day insulted by a social inferior (II 43).

Outside the home, there is frequent mention of work and the threat of unemployment, corresponding to the precarious livelihood of the

much more explicit terms: e.g. the use of βινέω in *POxy* 413.108 — J.N. ADAMS, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982, p. 120 n. 2).

³² On ancient life expectancy, see B. FRIER, *Roman Life Expectancy: Ulpian's Evidence*, *HSPH* 86 (1982), p. 213-215, and the reply of K. HOPKINS, *Graveyards for Historians*, in F. HINARD (ed.), *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain*, Caen 1987, p. 113-126; for living conditions, A. SCOBIE, *Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality*, *Klio* 68 (1986), p. 399-433. Illness in Artemidorus: I 31: τοῖς νοσοῦσι μακρονοσίαν μὲν καὶ φθίσιν προαγορεύουσι; I 56; I 58; I 64; etc.

³³ On the ancient family and its form, see P. VEYNE (ed.), *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1987; and especially R. SALLER, *Men's Age at Marriage and its Consequences in the Roman Family*, *CPh* 82 (1987), p. 21-34.

average ancient worker³⁴, a topic to which I will return later. The overall impression is of a society where increase in wealth and status is a dominant desire. To dream of increasing one's wealth is good for all who are capable of such; only the very rich, who cannot become richer, and slaves, who could not obtain wealth without a change in status, need be concerned about dreams which portend riches³⁵. Poverty, by contrast, is something to be feared and is treated as a virtual disease³⁶. There is little dignity in labour³⁷, but some professions are less respectable than others. A brazen, iron, or stoney forehead befits tax-collectors, traders, and those who make their living shamelessly (I 23: χάλκεον δὲ ἢ σιδήρεον ἢ λίθινον μέτωπον δοκεῖν ἔχειν τελώναις καὶ καπήλοις καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ἀναδείας ζῶσιν μόνοις συμφέρει). Similarly, when a man dreamt that he saw his wife in a brothel, this represented his own shamelessness in becoming a tax-collector (IV 42).

It is against this background of social discrimination and status concern (both in terms of hope for upward mobility and the fear of degrading loss of wealth and respect) that I wish to examine specific examples of status concern. They have been chosen as representative of attitudes in the ancient world to various groups in society, not as part of any comprehensive survey. My first topic is the well-known use of clothing as a public status symbol. I will then examine the danger of unemployment and its attendant ills which attended the mass of the free population in the Greco-Roman world. Since domination is frequently indicated by sexual relationships, Artemidorus' treatment of sex will next be examined in detail. Then I will briefly look at what is usually a

³⁴ For work in the Greco-Roman world, see F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano*, Bari 1963.

³⁵ A. FILIPPO, *loc. cit.* (n 29), p. 428-430; Artemidorus II 58, IV 17, etc.

³⁶ C.A. MEIER, *Ancient Incubation and Modern Psychotherapy*, Evanston 1967, p. 70 rightly notes the connection between poverty and sickness, both of which might be healed through a dream sent by Asclepius; but he wrongly suggests that this indicates a charitable attitude towards the poor and infirm. Poverty, like sickness, usually disgusts the ancient onlooker. So even the Christian John Chrysostom can link poverty and illness as undesirable characteristics absent in heaven: οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ πενίαν δεδοικέναι καὶ νόσον (*ad Theodorum lapsus* 11). Cf. Greg. Nyss., *Ben.* IX 97: ὁ πένης καὶ ἄρρωστος διπλοῦς ἔστι πτωχός.

³⁷ Cf. the attitude of Apuleius, who attacks his adversary Sicinius Aemilianus not only for being a rustic, but also as a pauper who had to plough his one field with a donkey over three days (*Apol.* 23). For 'respectable' and 'shameful' professions, see Dio Chrysostom's *Euboean Discourse* (*Or.* VII 114-116) with P.A. BRUNT, *Dio Chrysostom and Stoic Social Thought*, *PCPhS* 199 (1973), p. 9-34; Martial I 45.

symbol of repulsion or contempt — human dung — and, finally, Artemidorus will be examined for evidence of common attitudes towards the unfree and the aspirations of the slaves themselves.

The use of clothing and costume to mark status is a well-known feature of the ancient world. The broad-striped toga of the senator and the gold ring of the *equus* were status symbols guarded by the force of law³⁸. Imperial purple comes up relatively frequently in the ancient dream-books; since wearing purple is most unlikely to indicate elevation to the status of emperor, an alternative explanation is required. Perhaps because the hope is foolish or because of the supposed luxurious lifestyle of the emperor, purple garments may be taken as an indication of idleness or unemployment (Nikephoros 133, Astrampsychos 31), as does speaking with the emperor (Germanos 8, Nikephoros 14). Elsewhere (Nikephoros 11, 132; Astrampsychos 30) purple garments portend disease. This is consistent with the regular negative interpretation of symbols which are not appropriate to the dreamer — presumably if the dreamer was a contender for imperial status, the interpretation would be changed³⁹. Interestingly, Artemidorus notes that the symbol of the elephant, which portends danger and fear through its size and strength in most of the empire, in Italy indicates the emperor (II 12: δεσπότην σημαίνει καὶ βασιλέα καὶ ἄνδρα μέγιστον)⁴⁰. In Greek society, the distinction between the white clothing of the free and the black dress of the slaves makes these colours significant. White clothing is generally a fortunate symbol. It is certainly so for slaves in Greek areas, since they would normally be required to wear black, and it is also lucky for those who normally would wear it (τοῖς ἡθέσι μόνοις: Artemidorus II 13). For others it may mean trouble (ταραχάς) and for manual labourers it indicates idle unemployment (ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν; cf. Daniel 190). Black clothing, as appropriate to slaves, is not an auspicious omen for free men (Germanos 203). Artemidorus, as is his custom, notes that since Roman masters

³⁸ F. KOLB, *Zur Statussymbolik in antiken Rom*, *Chiron* 7 (1977), p. 239-257; S. DEMOUGIN, *De l'esclavage à l'anneau d'or du chevalier*, in C. NICOLET, *Des ordres à Rome*, Paris 1981, p. 217-241.

³⁹ This is suggested by Artemidorus II 3, where purple is good only for the rich and slaves (since the latter are not permitted to wear purple, it must portend their liberty).

⁴⁰ For the imperial monopoly on elephants (kept at Laurentum under their own procurator) see H.H. SCULLARD, *Elephants in the Greek and Roman World*, London 1974, p. 199-200.

and slaves generally wear the same clothing, none of this has any relevance for Roman slaves (II 3).

Not only inappropriate dress, but anything which might portend unemployment is a remarkably frequent fear in the dream-books. To be without work is no hardship for slaves (Daniel 122; *Anon. Dream Book* 56), who are normally viewed as unreliable workers, but could be a disaster for a free man. To Dio Chrysostom, the two greatest ills in Greek society were unemployment and poverty (ἀργία καὶ πενία: VII 40). The writers of the dream-books would not have disputed this. The unemployment of scribes might be predicted by dreaming of having lost one's fingers or of having them grow too long for use (Artemidorus I 42). For others, the dream of a growth on the knees might predict a period without work (I 46). What the prospects must have been like for an aged labourer are suggested by the comment of Artemidorus that baldness indicates poverty and shameful want in old age (I 21: ἐν τῷ γῆρᾳ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν). Here we catch a glimpse of the lifestyles of the majority of the free in the ancient world which show considerable parallels to those of many modern third world nations⁴¹. The major problem is not unemployment as experienced in times of periodic downturn in more prosperous societies, but rather underemployment. The workforce is only intermittently employed and each worker looks to maximise his or her chance of earning by increasing the number of tasks undertaken or the number of part-time employers⁴². Artemidorus indicates this very method when he notes among successful dreams that of the workman (ἀνδρὶ χειροτέχνῃ) who dreams that he has large ears. This indicates that he will hear or rather respond to many employers (πολλῶν γὰρ ἀκούσεται ἐργοδοτῶν: I 24). It is reasonable to view certain other features of the society which Artemidorus describes as side effects of this underemployment. Prosti-

⁴¹ G. STANDING, *Labour Force Participation and Development*, Geneva 1978, offers the best study of modern underemployment and its effects I have read, which can profitably be compared with what we know of conditions in the Roman world. There is also much which is relevant to the imperial Roman period in E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance 4^e-7^e siècles*, Paris/La Haye 1977.

⁴² Cf. the remarks by L. CASSON, *Ancient Trade and Society*, Detroit 1984, p. 124-125, replying to P.A. BRUNT, *Free Labour and Public Works at Rome*, *JRS* 70 (1980), p. 81-100. E. PATLAGEAN, *op.cit.*, p. 169, after studying the trades represented at Korykos in Cilicia in the 5th to 7th centuries, is pessimistic on the chances of economic growth in such a society: the poor «ne peuvent que multiplier les emplois de l'énergie primaire, ou les offres les plus humbles de productions occasionnelles».

tution, which figures quite prominently in the dream-books, is a well-known form of female intermittent or informal employment⁴³. The frequent references to migration to other societies⁴⁴ also suggest an attempt to seek better economic conditions elsewhere.

Finally, the consequences for the health of the underemployed must be taken into account: malnutrition is known to lead to a low survival rate of children and mothers, particularly as multiple pregnancies will exacerbate the mother's anaemia⁴⁵. Without effective means of birth control (exposure is a control on population, not on pregnancies), the lower class female in the ancient world would be likely to suffer particularly badly in this respect. This can be evidenced by the common prediction of the death of a child and not infrequent death of wives in Artemidorus⁴⁶. That unemployment could easily lead to serious malnutrition in the ancient world should not be surprising⁴⁷. However, it is worth noting Artemidorus' graphic indication of this: goat meat indicates unemployment through its boniness (I 70: διὰ τὸ ὀστῶδες μικρὰς τὰς ἐργασίας παρέχει). Non-nutritious food can also be taken as indicating unemployment⁴⁸. Furthermore, illness and unemployment are inextricably linked. To dream of sickness is bad, since it portends unemployment and a lack of the necessities in life (III 22). That scabies, leprosy, and elephantiasis (ψώρα δὲ καὶ λέπρα καὶ ἐλέφας) make the sufferer conspicuous is obvious. But the effect of such unpleasant sights (εἶδεχθὲς καὶ δυσπρόσωπον) in pinching and depressing the hearts of the onlookers (συνάγει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ὁρῶντων καὶ συστέλλει: III 47) without eliciting any act of assistance indicates the difference between the normal attitudes in the ancient world and the Christian charity which was to come.

⁴³ G. STANDING, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p.15 on prostitution in sub-Saharan societies. Prostitutes in Artemidorus: I 64, I 78, IV 9, IV 42 etc.

⁴⁴ E.g. I 4 (ἀπέβη αὐτῷ μεταναστῆναι τῆς οἰκίας); I 53 (εἰς βαρβάρους σημαίνει χώρας καὶ διατριβὰς ἀφίκεσθαι κάκει πρᾶξαι τι λαμπρόν).

⁴⁵ G. STANDING, *op.cit.* (n. 41), p.90-91.

⁴⁶ Death of children: I 33 (τὰ δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἔντερα ἢ σπλάγχνα διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἀποκρίνουν τέκνων ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ προαγορεύει), I 78, V 50, etc; death of wife: I 13, I 79, IV 30, etc.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the nutritional imbalances of the typical diet in the ancient world, see E. PATLAGEAN, *op.cit.* (n. 41), p. 36-53.

⁴⁸ I 67 — the text is corrupt, offering κίτρια («citron-trees») as the name of the thorny and bitter vegetable referred to. Hercher conjectured κινάρα («artichoke»), which Pack is inclined to accept. Cf. I 68 where wheat and spelt indicate sickness for the poor, while millet indicates poverty and unemployment (πενίας τε καὶ ἀπορίας ἐστὶ σημαντικά).

In general, there is surprisingly little status distinction according to occupation indicated in Artemidorus⁴⁹. This may be because many of the dream-interpreter's clients were manual workers, who would not find their occupations significant by themselves. Rather than simply presenting the traditional upper class contempt for the poor, his interpretations instead suggest the constant concern that the free labourers had to preserve their status and the ever-present fear that the deadly cycle of unemployment and sickness might deprive them of the little dignity they had.

Ever since Sigmund Freud, it has been customary in western thought to link dreams with sex and its traumas. There is sex in Artemidorus' work, but the author is concerned not with the psychological troubles of his clients, but rather their day-to-day existence⁵⁰. The dreams of lovers are clear enough in their interpretation and can be ignored by the dream-interpreter⁵¹. But unlike Plato, who dismissed improper sexual dreams as worthless inventions of the appetite⁵², Artemidorus shows a particular interest in sexual images which do not appear to be a simple response to desire. Significantly, sex is most commonly interpreted in terms of power relationships, as indicating a domination or submission which exists outside the sexual sphere.

Sex with one's wife is natural and portends success in one's occupation, to which the husband is 'wedded'. The absence of such sex would be more significant and portend instead unemployment (I 78; Achmet 130). More worrisome in a male-dominated society is the possibility of a loss of face caused by the wife's adultery. Artemidorus lists a number of dreams which would signify this — dreaming that one's tongue

⁴⁹ Exceptional is the remark that leather-working (τὸ βυρσοδεψεῖν) is a universally bad omen, since leatherworkers deal with the skin of dead animals and have their workshops outside the city (I 51) — the continuance of a primitive taboo? The typical upper class attitude to free labour is indicated by the famous remarks of Cicero (*Off.* I 150-151).

⁵⁰ J. WINKLER, *Unnatural Acts: Erotic Protocols in Artemidorus' Dream Analysis*, in *The Constraints of Desire*, London 1990, p. 17-44, offers a valuable discussion of Artemidorus' references to sexual dreams, concentrating on the theme of natural versus unnatural acts, which partly overlaps with the following discussion.

⁵¹ Artemidorus I 1, using the lover's dream of being with his beloved as an example of a dream affecting both body and soul. Galen, *Dreams* 834-835, notes that those deprived of sex will have wet-dreams. Cf. R. OBERHELMAN, *The Diagnostic Dream in Ancient Medical Theory and Practice*, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61 (1987), p. 47-60.

⁵² *Theait.* 158b; *Rep.* IX 571c.

escapes the mouth while talking suggests adultery (I 32), since the wife is seen as a personal possession of the dreamer, signified by his tongue. A wife nursing a viper in her bosom needs little explanation (II 13). The interpretation of the dream that one's wife has a disease as indicating shame to come from her deeds (III 47) shows once more the connection of disease and disgust in Artemidorus' world⁵³. In another dream, the god Pan warned the dreamer that he would be poisoned by his wife for the advantage of a relative — in fact, the wife and relative were engaged in adultery (IV 71), an act which is almost equivalent to murder in its harm to the dignity of injured party. A man, who dreamt that he could not get the bed-bugs off his cloak, discovered that his wife was unfaithful but could not divorce her (V 64). A final example illustrates the connection of public and domestic esteem: a man dreamt that he was flying high over Rome, but was forced to stop from pains in his heart and hide himself in disgrace. He later achieved great success as a prophet in the metropolis (θαυμάσιος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαφέρων μάντις καὶ ἐπίσημος ἐν τῇ πόλει), but after his wife betrayed him in love (καταπροδοῦσα ἀπέστερξεν) he left the city in shame (V 69).

In a famous passage (I 78-80), Artemidorus discusses the various types of sex in dreams. It is particularly noticeable that the dreams are interpreted from the viewpoint of male domination. For instance, it is good to possess (περαινέιν) a brother of any age, since that establishes superiority and enables the dreamer to despise his brother (I 78: ὑπέρτερος γὰρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἔσται καὶ καταφρονήσει αὐτοῦ). Paedophilia with one's son is bad if the child is too young: if the child is under five years old, it portends his death; if between five and ten, this premature sex portends sickness for the child and harm to the dreamer from some rash act (ἀφρόνως δέ τι πραγματευσάμενος), since no one would have sex with a child of this age. Sex with an older child simply portends sending the child to get an education — a clear indication that such sex is regarded as an initiation of the younger by the older male. Again, masturbation is judged according to the status of the individuals involved⁵⁴. A slave's dream of masturbating his master is beneficial: in

⁵³ A fascinating example is the dream in III 51. To dream that one shares a disease as another is to make the same mistake as the other has. When a master dreamt that his slave too was lame, the outcome was that he eventually discovered that they were sharing the same mistress. The lameness presumably signifies the blow to the master's prestige that this would imply. Cf. also IV 44: a wife shows her husband her genitals in a dream — the lack of respect shown indicates that she will do her husband much harm.

⁵⁴ In Achmet, masturbation indicates increase (95): a king will share his secrets and a

the example given (I 78), the slave becomes the paedagogus of the master's children (i.e. the fruit of his loins). But a slave who dares to dream that the master will masturbate him is instead bound to a pillar and whipped, being stretched (ἐνετάθη) by the master in a much less enjoyable fashion. As a general rule, to take the active role in sex is always good, even in dreams of bestiality (I 80), but to be the passive partner of someone who is regarded as weaker is harmful. Even sex with one's mother is a good sign, indicating that the dreamer will prosper in his craft, which nurtures him like his mother (I 79), so long as the sexual position indicates domination. Sex from behind, however, suggests that the craft will also turn its back on the dreamer, portending unemployment. And to be the passive partner of one who is younger and less wealthy is bad, as is being taken by a slave, since that indicates that the slave will despise and harm his master. Unnatural sex (fellatio or cunnilingus) degrades both participants and predicts harm for all, except, as Artemidorus scornfully notes, those who make their living by their mouths, such as flautists, trumpeters, rhetors, sophists, and the like (I 79). Worst of all is to be fellated by one's mother, which indicates the loss of one's children, one's property, and one's health.

Since active sex with inferiors has been shown to be regarded as a fine omen, it is not surprising that sex with slaves is generally good. After all a slave is one's possession and to enjoy what one possesses should be propitious. The view of female slaves as sex objects is perhaps confirmed by Artemidorus' remark that bed-covers and quilts indicate one's concubines and freedwomen (I 74 — presumably as purchased bed-warmers). Indicative, too, is the interpretation of the possession of a gold or silver dish as predicting that the dreamer will marry a slave-girl after freeing her or live with a freed slave-girl: the partner is here seen as a purchased commodity. A similar view of the sexual partner as an object is given in I 64, where scrapers (αἱ ξύστραι) are taken to represent prostitutes, who like the instrument take something away from the body of the customer⁵⁵. As inferior in social status

commoner will experience an increase in business. Nikephoros (24) is presumably reflecting Christian views when he links masturbation with harm from one's enemies.

⁵⁵ R.J. WHITE, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Park Ridge (NJ) 1975, mistranslates this as «since a courtesan, when she approaches, does the same thing to the body of her lover». But the word order of the Greek (τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ ἑταῖρα τῷ σώματι προσιοῦσα ποιεῖ) suggests that τῷ σώματι should be taken as a dative with προσιοῦσα. This is presumably also the view of A.J. FESTUGIÈRE (*Artemidore*, Paris 1975), who translates

to most members of society, prostitutes denote no threat and are generally viewed positively as servicing the lower class members of Greco-Roman society⁵⁶. In I 78, sex with women in brothels is seen as universally good, as it implies only a modicum of shame and small expense. In IV 9, Artemidorus gives a more precise definition: the prostitute is by herself good⁵⁷, the brothel (the source of profit for the brothel-keeper) in itself bad. Some of the dream-interpreter's respectable clients would be pimps and brothel-owners⁵⁸. For them, the dream of an orchard would be favourable because of the many seeds and transitory work (διὰ τὰ πολλὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὴν πρόσκαιρον ἐργασίαν) — the same dream will, however, obviously bring disgrace to respectable women (IV 11)⁵⁹.

It is but a short step from the sexual to the scatological. Although human ordure is normally something to be avoided in any society, it is interesting to note that this is not always true of dream interpretation. It may be, of course, that the dream belongs to the non-significant types listed at the start of Artemidorus' first book. Galen (*Dreams* 6.835K) notes that excess faeces in the bowel may cause dreams of sitting on a dung-heap — that is, it would produce a bodily *enhygnion* which could be ignored for predictive purposes. But if this was a true allegorical dream, the dream would be good for a rich man, since all add to the common pile of manure (III 52). Such filthy lucre may suggest gaining shame as well as pleasure, as in V 38 where taking pleasure in eating

«car, quand elle se frotte contre le corps, la courtisane aussi produit sur lui le même effet». While White's book is a useful aid to the study of Artemidorus, his translations need to be carefully checked against the original text.

⁵⁶ Since the upper classes had access to their slaves for sexual purposes, prostitution, particularly the brothels, would tend to cater for those who did not have this option — mainly the poor, freedmen, and slaves. Houses of prostitution appear frequently in Pompeii and Dio Chrysostom (VII 133) notes that there are brothels everywhere in his 'typical' Greek city (perhaps Carystos in Euboea: C.P. JONES, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge [Mass.] 1978, p. 58), employing both locals and foreigners.

⁵⁷ Cf. the instructions given on a papyrus for seeking advice in a dream — if a prostitute appears, it is a good sign; a soldier instead is a bad sign (*PGM* 22b.32-35, translated by D.E. AUNE in H.D. BETZ (ed.), *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, Chicago 1986, p. 261).

⁵⁸ Cf. I 31, where the teeth are to be taken as the inhabitants of the dreamer's household (= his mouth), the teeth on the right indicating males, those on the left indicating females. It occasionally happens (πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινα σπάνια προσπίπτει) that a brothel-keeper (πορνοβοσκός) will only have females, a farmer (φιλογέωργος) will only have males, so the left will indicate younger employees, the right the older.

⁵⁹ Cf. the slang use of εὐγείον (Lat. *eugium*) for female genitalia — J.N. ADAMS, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 83.

dung is interpreted as the gain of an illegal inheritance⁶⁰. But overall, the interpretation is once again dependent on the status of the participants. To be befouled by a rich friend is a good sign, resulting, in one particular case, in the dreamer receiving an inheritance from the wealthy man. But suffering fouling from a poor acquaintance (who cannot do anything advantageous for the dreamer) results in great harm and disgrace at the other's hands (II 26)⁶¹. Once more this shows a fear that must have been common in such a status-oriented society, that others might refuse to pay due respect. Perhaps the best illustration of this dread is the example of a rich man, who dreamt that he was a bridge and was generally despised (ὕπὸ πολλῶν καταφρονηθείς), as if the populace was walking all over him (IV 66).

One final social group which appears in the dream-books needs examining, both for the attitude of the rest of society towards them and for their own aspirations — the slaves. Usually, the attitude towards slaves is markedly negative. Artemidorus interprets frogs as indicating cheats, beggars, and slaves, and when a slave strikes some frogs, he becomes the overseer of the house (II 15) — a passage which not only indicates a low opinion of the servile element, but also the need of violence to keep it under control⁶². An even more negative image is used by Germanos who interprets the dream of destroying lice as meaning to strike one's slaves (242). Elsewhere in Artemidorus, slaves and wives are compared to house-dogs. It is good to have them fawning on their master, but bad when they bark or bite (II 11). Slaves are seen as the lowest part of the household, indicated by feet in dreams, whereas freedmen have the higher status of knees (I 47). A man who married (συνῴκισε) his daughters to slaves had previously dreamt that his eyes fell at his feet (I 26) — a clear indication of the loss of status this act implied. A remarkable piece of evidence for the paternalistic attitude of masters to slaves is Artemidorus I 13, where a slave's dream

⁶⁰ In. Germanos 104, sitting in dung indicates harm from one's way of life (cf. Astrampsychos 54; *Anonymous Dream Book* 203: eating dung means sinful profit). In Achmet 105, the alternative is suggested of gaining wealth from a journey, punning on *exodos* as 'journey' or 'defecation'.

⁶¹ To throw dung at another or suffer dung being thrown at one's person by an acquaintance indicates hostility and enmity (III 52) — here the presumed similarity of status transfers the emphasis to the action itself.

⁶² In a passage of invective which embarrasses the Loeb translator, Basil similarly describes slaves and eunuchs as «lizards and toads, vernal animals, but unclean all the same» while threatening violence against their owner in a dispute over the unauthorised ordination of a slave as bishop (*Ep.* cxv).

that he is re-born is interpreted thus: he will be cherished by the master and if he errs, he will be thought worthy of forgiveness. But he will not be freed in the near future, since children, even if freeborn, are not masters of their own destiny. This association of slaves with children is a common attitude in the Greco-Roman world⁶³ and is reflected in another dream where a slave imagines he is playing ball (σφαιρίζειν) with Zeus (IV 69). But this easy familiarity with a much superior force was not justified: the slave tried to compete (ἐφιλονείκησε) with his master and addressed him too freely (ἐλευθερώτερον προσδιαλεγόμενος), which only led to the master's hatred of him.

A notable feature of Artemidorus' explanations of dreams for slaves is the frequency of references to punishment as a likely consequence. A number of otherwise propitious signs are unlucky for slaves because of their connection with hurt or torture. To dream of beef is bad for slaves, since straps and whips are made from cattlehide (I 70). Hemp indicates tortures and afflictions for slaves (III 59), while olives are a bad sign for them since they are gathered by beating the tree. Red fish indicate torture for slaves (II 14) and raging rivers are an allegory for cruel masters (II 27). A slave, who dreamt that his feet alone moved while the rest of his body stood still, ends up being sentenced to the treadmill (εἰς ἀντλίαν καταδικασθῆναι: I 48). Not only is the punishment usually severe, but it often seems arbitrary. A slave girl, who dreamt she heard a line of Euripides' *Andromache*, suffered greatly from the cruelty of a jealous mistress⁶⁴. For a slave to dream of dancing is unseemly and will result in much punishment (πολλὰς λήψεται πληγὰς: I 76). Similarly, a rise above one's station is likely to be punished. To wear a gold garland portends torture for a slave or being caught red-handed at great crimes for a poor man (I 77). It is perhaps no wonder that runaways also consulted the dream-interpreter: the cuttlefish is mentioned as a good omen for fugitives (II 14: τοὺς ἀποδρᾶναι πειρωμένους) because of its ability to hide itself in its ink.

For most slaves, however, there was little to be done except tolerate

⁶³ Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1319b, where the characteristic feature of democracy is a lack of patriarchal control (ἀναρχία) over slaves, women, and children.

⁶⁴ The dream is most implausible — not only is it unlikely that a slave-girl would dream about classical Greek tragedy, but the line («Roast me, burn my flesh, have your fill of me») is Euripides, *Syleus* fr.687 Nauck. There is a contrasting dream in V 53, where a servant girl borrows her mistress' clothes for a festival. This dream signifies that the slave will break up her mistress' marriage by slander (since πομπεία can mean either a procession or invective).

their lot and hope for eventual freedom. Some might prosper by being promoted to positions of responsibility in the household. In fact, for a slave to dream of fetters is not an indication of bad times to come, but instead indicates that he will be fixed to a position of great trust (II 47). In another dream, a master offers a slave his wife, which does not bring the expected punishment, but rather advancement, since the invitation had been made freely (IV 61). But most can only hope for the gift of freedom. This may be signified in dreams by a natural catastrophe, such as an earthquake, which implies an immense change in circumstances (II 41). Dreaming of actions which only a free person may undertake is also propitious: examples are becoming an ephebe (I 54), the cutting of one's own throat or being sacrificed in a temple (II 51), serving Dionysus (II 37), becoming a soldier (II 31 — although this implies freedom only after a long term of service), or having an heir build a funeral monument (2.61, since only the free have valid wills). Perhaps a poignant comment on the likelihood of freedom is the statement that to dream of death and burial is good, since the dead are masterless (II 49). So too crucifixion is a desirable omen for slaves, since those crucified are no longer under another's control (II 53: ἀνυπότακτοι)⁶⁵. To complete a race in a dream is also good, since it indicates the termination of labour as a slave; for women, it indicates the end of the semi-servile life of prostitution (I 58: πορνείαν καὶ ἑταιρικὸν βίον). A clear reference to Roman customs for freedmen can be seen in V 91, where a man dreams of having three penises: he is manumitted and gains three names, taking two from the name of his ex-master⁶⁶. Many slaves could count on eventual manumission, as is indicated by Artemidorus I 17, where a slave with a large head will be liberated only after a long period of servitude, while a slave with a small head will soon be free. But freedom is not certain⁶⁷. Loss of one's head in a dream can mean the granting of freedom, but it may also mean being sold (I 35). So to

⁶⁵ The public acceptance of violence as the chief means of restraining slaves is most vividly indicated by the Puteoli inscription indicating the duties of public officials under the patronage of Libitina (L. BOVE, *Due iscrizioni da Pozzuoli e Cuma*, *Labeo* 13, 1967, p. 22-48); cf. the discussion of slave executions by J.-C. DUMONT, *La mort de l'esclave*, in *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà* (n. 32), p. 37-41, who compares slavery to a double-ended tunnel, with crucifixion at one end and manumission at the other.

⁶⁶ For a brief account of Roman slave-names, see P.R.C. WEAVER, *Familia Caesaris*, Cambridge 1972, p. 3-4.

⁶⁷ On the likelihood of manumission (often exaggerated in both ancient and modern sources), see T.J. WIEDEMANN, *The Regularity of Manumission at Rome*, *CQ* 35 (1985), p. 162-175.

seem to fly to heaven means a change in one's household, possibly even becoming a member of the *familia Caesaris* (εἰς βασιλέως αὐλήν ἐλθεῖν), but does not predict the full freedom of the birds which mere flying signifies (II 68). In another dream, a star fell from heaven, but another rose in its place: the slave who dreamt this lost his master, but gained another owner instead of his freedom, a fate predicted by the appearance of the second star (V 23).

This survey of some of the themes treated by Artemidorus has revealed a number of facets of dream interpretation which should be of interest to the social historian. Dream interpretation is very closely linked to the social status and expectations of the customer. Usually only moderate social mobility is expected and dreams which appear to violate the social norms of the day are interpreted as portending other, usually less pleasant, futures. The extent to which upper class values have been adopted by the lower classes is particularly noteworthy. While the dream-interpreter himself may often have had somewhat higher social status than his customers, his interpretations would need to agree with their aspirations and prejudices to ensure his success. These views are often hostile to the servile and impoverished and exploitative of the weak and helpless. Sex, in particular, is viewed as a means of dominating the partner, while to be dominated is seen as losing face. In friendships, personal gain is to be sought; or else one should avoid being exploited by the other. While it is safest to place the greatest weight on the interpretation offered, not the dream itself, it is clear that the general concern for status also sometimes manifests itself plainly in what we would nowadays consider to be anxiety dreams. Underemployment is a constant concern for lower-status clients, while health is a universal subject of anxiety. At the lowest level of society, among the slaves, expectations are much reduced. A life of labour and violent punishment is frequently indicated in the dream-books. For most, freedom was the greatest hope to which they might aspire, and many of the symbols which represent these desires, such as death and the grave, suggest that this liberation was often not gained in a way which allowed the recipient to enjoy this change of status.

SOLON AND THE *HEKTEMOROI*

For a concise summary of the hypotheses concerning hektemorage under Solon, an enigma to which much scholarly ink and ingenuity has been devoted, one can turn to P.J. Rhodes' *Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*¹. The present paper focuses on A. Andrewes's point of view that the status of hektemorage emerged in the beginning of the revival period, right after the Dark Ages, that it resulted from the need of manpower for agricultural purposes, and that the *hektemoroi* possibly held some kind of claim to the land they were working².

Andrewes's hypothesis has apparently not been taken into full account by more recent works, such as P. Oliva's study of Solon³ and M. Stahl's investigation of the phenomenon of tyranny⁴. That is why a return to the literary sources seems appropriate, in order to reexamine their informative potential, considered both by themselves and in relation to Andrewes's hypothesis. From the methodological point of view, this paper will analyze the interpretations to which Solon's poems are open, as opposed to the interpretations to which later sources, mainly the *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch's *Solon*, narrowed the poems down.

Two main claims emerge from this attempt. First, the social context in which the *hektemoroi* function under Solon is more complex than Andrewes assumes⁵. We are not dealing with a simple dichotomy of the rich and the powerful on the one hand and the poor and oppressed on the other, but with a society in which the prerogatives of the power-elite were contested by the lower classes right from the start of the revival period, and with some success. Hence under Solon too the actual troublemakers might not so much have been the oppressed *kakoi* as the more successful, and not necessarily poor, elements of the lower class.

¹ Oxford 1981, p. 92-97.

² A. ANDREWES, *The Growth of the Athenian State*, IV. *Solon*, in *CAH* III 3, Cambridge 1982, p. 377-382.

³ *Solon. Legende und Wirklichkeit*, Konstanz 1988.

⁴ *Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung, zur Sozialstruktur und zur Entstehung des Staates*, Stuttgart 1987.

⁵ Andrewes focuses on the rapacity of the rich (and therefore powerful): *CAH* III 3, p. 381.

The possibility of class-struggle as the driving power behind the Solonian crisis, then, leads us secondly to the model of the *polis*'s origins as I. Morris⁶ presents it: in the ongoing power-struggle between the nobility and substantial landowners on the one hand (*agathoi*) and the lower social class (*kakoi*) on the other, a major transition set in, around 750 B.C., from the dual structure of masters (*agathoi*) versus serfs (dependent *kakoi*) to the threefold structure of citizens, including *agathoi* (1) and *kakoi* (2), versus chattel slaves (3), non-citizens, outcasts and outsiders. This is an evolution in which, according to Morris, the ownership of land plays a crucial role and which presupposes bargaining power for at least some of the *kakoi*. Morris fails to see, however, the potential role which the *hektemoroi*, as defined by Andrewes, could have played in this process⁷, which was still not completed when Solon entered the political scene. Thus by combining Andrewes's and Morris's viewpoints, and by carrying both of them one step further — towards each other, in fact — we might arrive at a more fruitful hypothesis concerning the social, economic and political complexities involved in the crisis Solon attempted to settle.

I

It is quite true that if we question in the first instance Solon's own poems about the *hektemoroi*, disregarding any later information, we hit a wall of silence and unanswered questions. The *hektemoroi*, to start from some definition, are farmers under a dependency status, in the light of which they annually pay off one-sixth⁸ of their produce.

It is disconcerting that we do not even find the term *hektemoroi* itself in the one poem which is supposed to deal with the abolishment of their dependency status (fr. 36)⁹. Only the second century A.D. grammarian Pollux, in his *Onomasticon*¹⁰, suggests that Solon himself explicitly mentioned anything resembling *hektemoroi* at all:

⁶ *Burial and Ancient Society. The Rise of the Greek City-State*, Cambridge 1987, p. 171-217.

⁷ Cf. *infra*.

⁸ That the dues consist of one-sixth and not of five remains a moot point; however, most scholars appear to accept it primarily for logical reasons. Cf. A. ANDREWES, *CAH* III 3, p. 379-380; P.J. RHODES, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 91.

⁹ Ed. M.L. WEST, *Iambi et elegi Graeci* II, Oxford 1972, p. 119-145.

¹⁰ Cf. A. MARTINA, *Solon. Testimonia veterum*, Romae 1968, p. 296.

ἐπίμορτος δὲ γῆ παρὰ Σόλωνι ἢ ἐπὶ μέρει γεωργουμένη, καὶ μορτή,
τὸ μέρος τῶν γεωργῶν¹¹

And besides the late date of this secondary source, there is another problem too: Pollux talks about «fourth-parters»:

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τετάρτῳ μέρει νέμεσθαι, τετραχίζειν... (text following immediately after previous passage)

Is he simply making a mistake, or does this version indicate that different rates of payment could be applied? If the latter is true, what does this imply for the hektemorage status and its historical development?

We can argue only *e silentio* that Solon abolished the hektemorage: our later sources do not mention *hektemoroi* after Solon. But this might tell us more about our lack of information than about the historical reality. The only indication in Solon's fragments are the following, well-known words: ὄρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας (36.6).

Solon's phrasing, however, indicates a much more general category, if it includes the *hektemoroi* at all. The *horoi* represent an external claim which has been imposed on the land¹². Solon apparently undoes this claim, and thus frees the land, in a metaphorical sense. The vagueness of language and the free use of metaphor, besides being simply characteristics of poetry and rhetoric in general, might be intended in order to avoid the explicit mentioning of delicate and controversial issues¹³.

Although we know from fragment 36 (11-12) that Solon abolished a particular kind of slavery, he himself does not tell us explicitly that it is slavery resulting from debts. Χρειώ (ῆ), «necessity», is not quite the same as χρέ(ι)ος (τό), «debt» or «obligation». For the specific notion of debt-slavery, we have to turn to our later sources. The same goes for the *seisachtheia* and for the prohibition of borrowing on personal security, both ascribed to Solon.

Finally, many important questions are answered neither in Solon's

¹¹ E. RUSCHENBUSCH, ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ ΝΟΜΟΙ. *Die Fragmente des solonischen Gesetzeswerkes. Mit einer Text- und Überlieferungsgeschichte* (Historia Einzelschriften, 9), Wiesbaden 1966, p. 93, includes this passage as a fragment of one of Solon's law texts.

¹² I leave the definition of the *horos* purposely vague here to avoid controversies which are not essential to my argument. The definition is supported, however, by Th. THALHEIM, art. "Οροι, in *RE* VIII 2 (1913), col. 2414-2416.

¹³ Cf. E. DAVID, *Solon's Electoral Propaganda*, *RSA* 15 (1985), p. 7-22. David mainly highlights the use of ambiguous language in the pre-electoral poems, but I take it that something similar could be going on in the apologetic poems as well.

fragments, nor in the later sources. For instance, was any compensation stipulated for the rich who were affected by the *seisachtheia*?

II

The crucial fragment of Solon (36.5-15) can be divided into two parts: A (5-7) dealing with the land, B (8-15) dealing with slavery.

- A ... Γῆ μέλαινα, τῆς ἐγὼ ποτε
 ὄρους ἀνεΐλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας,
 πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα, νῦν ἐλευθέρη.
 B πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθήνας πατρίδ' ἐς θεόκτιτον
 ἀνήγαγον πραθέντας, ἄλλον ἐκδίκως,
 ἄλλον δικαίως, τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ
 χρειοῦς φυγόντας, γλώσσαν οὐκέτ' Ἀττικὴν
 ἰέντας, ὥς δὴ πολλαχῇ πλανωμένους·
 τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ δουλίην ἀεικέα
 ἔχοντας, ἦθη δεσποτέων τρομεομένους,
 ἐλευθέρους ἔθηκα.

Enslaved land is being freed, and so are enslaved Athenians.

It is usually assumed that parts A and B both refer to an oppressed component of Athenian society. Many scholars see the “enslavement” of the land as a result of loan-debts, just as slavery is another, more extreme consequence of the failure to pay off these debts. Andrewes, on the other hand, as I have already pointed out, explores an entirely different hypothesis¹⁴: the land involved was not confiscated as a result of debts, but its unfree status goes back to the phase of internal colonization in Attica, at the dawn of the revival period, after the Dark Ages, when the clan leaders could use manpower for the cultivation of that portion of the land which then ‘belonged’ to nobody, and were willing to protect the potential farmer’s claim to the land against the other clans. The protected party in turn ‘owed’ his protectors for their support. A debt, yes, but not resulting from loans. If this is the status of the *hektegoroí*, and if they are alluded to in part A of Solon’s fragment, their social condition is fundamentally different from that of the enslaved debtor. For one thing, they do have a claim to the land they

¹⁴ Cf. also C. GILLIARD, *Quelques réformes de Solon. Essai de critique historique*, Lausanne 1907, p. 97-105 (quoted by Andrewes), and W.G. FORREST, *The Emergence of Greek Democracy. The Character of Greek Politics, 800-400 BC*, London 1966, p. 147-150.

are working, even if this claim is checked by a superimposed power structure, and the *horoi* are there to remind them of their dependency.

If we now turn to the later sources, we find in the *Athenaion Politeia*¹⁵ and in Plutarch's *Solon*¹⁶ the same dual structure as in Solon's fragment (36): part A talks about the land, but also about people in relation to the land; another part B focuses on the problem of slavery, filling a gap in our information by telling us that the slavery was a result of loan-debts.

According to Rhodes¹⁷, the *Athenaion Politeia* intertwines the political and the economic issues:

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβη στασιάζειν τοὺς τε γνωρίμους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πολὺν χρόνον [τὸν δῆμον]. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικῇ πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐδούλευον οἱ πένητες τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο πελάται καὶ ἐκτῆμοροι· κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν μίσθωσιν [ἡ]ργάζοντο τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς ἀγρούς. ἡ δὲ πᾶσα γῆ δι' ὀλίγων ἦν· καὶ εἰ μὴ τὰς μισθώσεις ἀποδίδοιεν, ἀγώγιμοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ παῖδες ἐγίγνοντο. καὶ οἱ δανεισμοὶ πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν μέχρι Σόλωνος· οὗτος δὲ πρῶτος ἐγένετο τοῦ δήμου προστάτης, χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ δουλεύειν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέραινον· οὐδενὸς γάρ, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐτύγχανον μετέχοντες.

The word στασιάζειν reminds us of Solon's¹⁸ στάσις, socio-political turmoil. The dichotomy γνωρίμους / πλῆθος can refer to both the opposition powerful / oppressed and the opposition rich / poor. Apparently the *Athenaion Politeia* considers this conflict to be simply bipolar. The *agathoi* are in full control of political power and economic resources, the *kakoi* are totally oppressed. But as I will point out, we have reason to believe, on the basis of Solon's fragments, that the conflict is more complex. An hypothesis which relies on a dual opposition is attractive, because of its explanatory force. Often it is the historian's, and not only his, favorite oversimplification. As a model of analysis it does not necessarily reflect historical reality (nor does a tripartite model for that matter). Can we assume that this kind of oversimplification is going on in the passage under consideration? Even if we assume that

¹⁵ Chapter 2. For the text see J.E. SANDYS, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, London 1912.

¹⁶ 13.2-3. For the text see B. PERRIN, *Plutarch's Lives*, vol. I (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London 1982.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 89.

¹⁸ Cf. *infra*.

the author of the *Athenaion Politeia* had access, besides to the poetry fragments, to additional information, including Solon's laws, the questions still remain how complete and explicit this information was, and how closely the author followed it.

Δουλεύω refers to the subjugation of one group of society by another, and not necessarily to the technical notion of 'chattel-slavery'. The crucial point here is that the *Athenaion Politeia* does not present the system of hektemorage as a result of loan-debts. The μίσθωσις seems to be fundamentally different from the δανεισμός, to the extent even that we are explicitly told that the *hektemoroi* become liable to slavery only when they are not able to pay their «rent». That the *hektemoroi* «worked the land 'of'¹⁹ the rich», fits Andrewes's hypothesis of Attica's internal colonization, when the clan leaders could use extra manpower.

Do the πελάται καὶ ἐκτῆμοροι in the *Athenaion Politeia* refer to just one category, or to two? Plutarch conflates θῆτες and ἐκτεμῶριοι (cf. infra). Liddell-Scott defines *pelates* as «one who approaches to seek protection», a meaning which again suits the hypothesis about the origins of the *hektemoroi*. Even if the word, as θῆς, refers to a hired worker, we still can understand the conceptual conflation of *hektemoroi* on the one hand and *pelatai* and *thetes* on the other. First of all, we should not forget that the later sources might be uncertain as well about the exact meaning of these terms. Further, the receipt of some kind of payment or the paying of rent might amount de facto to a similar semi-independent social status; de iure (originally not in written law, of course), however, the *hektemoroi* could have a considerable advantage over hired workers, if they indeed had a claim to the land they tilled, no matter how partial. This latter distinction, which is crucial to the hypothesis we are considering, is quite irrelevant to a bipolar representation of the facts. Another consideration is that the *hektemoros* who is not able to pay his dues might go through a transition period of hiring himself out²⁰, or maybe the two statuses of *hektemoros* and hired worker were sometimes successfully combined. The *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch seem to be talking about dependency relationships in general, and not so much in a technical sense. An

¹⁹ The genitive expresses possession, but the hypothesis as developed in this paper doubts that the land was fully owned by the *agathoi*.

²⁰ M.I. FINLEY, *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, New York 1981, p. 154, stipulates that some debt-bondsmen assumed the 'pseudo' status of hired worker for life.

ambiguity, perhaps of a general heading which can encompass several different statuses, is to be found in the following fragment of Solon (13.47-48) as well:

ἄλλος γῆν τέμνων πολυδένδρεον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
λατρεῦει, τοῖσιν καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μέλει·

Plutarch's passage (13.2-3) seems to be a combination of the *Athenaion Politeia* and Solon's fragment 36:

ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων. ἡ γὰρ ἐγεώργουν ἐκείνοις ἕκτα τῶν γινομένων τελοῦντες, ἐκτημόριοι προσαγορευόμενοι καὶ θῆτες, ἡ χρέα λαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀγώγιμοι τοῖς δανείζουσιν ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ δουλεύοντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην πιπρασκόμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος ἐκώλυε) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατοι συνίσταντο καὶ παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐλομένους ἕνα προστάτην ἄνδρα πιστὸν ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς ὑπερήμερους καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ὅλως μεταστήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν.

In A, both the *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch tell us that the *hektemoroi* worked the land «of the rich». In B, Plutarch's wording bears literal resemblances to the *Athenaion Politeia*. On the other hand, Plutarch too mentions the three categories of slaves Solon described: 1). those enslaved in Attica itself, 2). those who were sold abroad and 3). those who fled to avoid slavery. To his list, however, Plutarch adds one detail which we also find in the *Athenaion Politeia*: the necessity to sell one's children. Compare also:

(Solon) τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ χρειοῦς φυγόντας (under dire necessity)
(Plutarch) καὶ τὴν πόλιν φεύγειν διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν δανειστῶν
(as a result of debts)

In Plutarch there is a marked distinction between ἡ ἐγεώργουν and ἡ χρέα λαμβάνοντες. The terms ὑπόχρεως / τοὺς ὑπερήμερους apply to both kinds of dues, the μίσθωσις as well as the down payment on loans²¹.

²¹ This leads us to the *seisachtheia* and the meaning of ἡ τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπή, a label introduced by the *Athenaion Politeia*. Later sources (cf. A. MARTINA, *op. cit.* [n. 10]) interpreted χρεῶν in a broad sense, including the obligation of the *hektemoroi*. M. FINLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 151-152, points out that the notion of 'debt' can encompass a wide range of social dependency relationships in Ancient Greece. Rhodes, then, is probably right in saying that the term in its general sense also covers the μίσθωσις. Only Diodorus

The context of Plutarch's fragment reveals some useful information too. Plutarch displays the same bipolarity as the *Athenaion Politeia*. Nevertheless he does attribute some strength to the *kakoi*, the oppressed party in the conflict, although he points to 'physical' strength.

The relationship between Solon on the one hand and the *Athenaion Politeia* and Plutarch on the other can be rendered in the following diagram:

	SOLON	ATHENAION POLITEIA / PLUTARCH
A	land/horoi	hektemoroi (pelates/thetes)
B	slaves	slaves

For B the relation is more clear-cut than for A. In A Solon's wording is much more vague than what we read in the two later sources; but at least it looks like a general category in which the *hektemoroi* as defined by Andrewes would fit. Maybe the category is meant to refer to more than one problem with the land. By removing some of the *horoi*, Solon puts order into Attica's affairs.

To return, then, to the crucial Solonian fragment (36): Part B represents a totally oppressed group, both politically — a slave is an outsider — and economically. But A may include a group which, although it is subjugated to the power-elite, is nevertheless not entirely without resources. The main question here is whether we should accept, as Andrewes does, the bipolar explanation of powerful versus oppressed which the *Athenaion Politeia* gives us, and which Plutarch too more or less adopts. M. Stahl²² denies the existence of a middle social group as the cause of social turmoil in Solon's timespan, by stating that the so-called economic boom of the end of the seventh century B.C. in reality occurred only later, and that it never led to the formation of a new layer within Athenian society. To these objections, however, Morris's hypothesis replies that the origins of a 'middle' group are to be found well before Solon, at the end of the Dark Ages. And if the hypothesis holds that the economic status of this 'middle' group relies mainly on agriculture, it is still not entirely unlikely that the first results of an expanding trade enter the game under Solon as well, and contribute to

(I 19.4) narrows it down explicitly to ἅπαντας τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι πεπιστευμένων δανείων, but he is discussing the concept in the specific context of an attack on 'cruel' lending systems.

²² *Op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 73.

the conflict. If the *hektemoroi* are included under A, chances are that some of them have been and still are economically successful at the time Solon enters the political scene²³. But the external claim to their land, coming from the closed power structure and dating back to previous generations, would symbolize their political subjugation and the constraints put upon their economic expansion. In the next part of my argumentation, I will focus on wealth, of mostly undefined origin, as one of the main unsettling factors in the Solonian crisis, a wealth which is not limited to the upper layer of society. It might be the economic success of some of the *kakoi* which is not immediately and automatically reflected by an increase in their political power as well, that triggered the dangerous and explosive situation Solon had to face.

III

F. Cassola²⁴ also disconnects part A of Solon's fragment 36 from part B, but takes it to refer to the unjust confiscation of temple and communal land by the *agathoi*, the imposed *horoi* being the clear sign of this transgression. He bases his argument on Solon's fragment 4.5-25:

αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίησιν
 ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι,
 δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων ἄδικος νόος, οἷσιν ἐτοῖμον
 ὕβριος ἐκ μεγάλης ἄλγεα πολλὰ παθεῖν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπίστανται κατέχειν κόρον οὐδὲ παρούσας
 εὐφροσύνας κοσμεῖν δαιτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ
 (lacuna)
 πλουτέουσιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι (cf. l. 6)
 (lacuna)
 οὔθ' ἱερῶν κτεάνων οὔτε τι δημοσίων
 φειδόμενοι κλέπτουσιν ἀφαρπαγῇ ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος,
 οὐδὲ φυλάσσονται σεμνὰ Δίκης θέμεθλα,
 ἢ σιγῶσα σύννιθε τὰ γινόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα,
 τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτεισομένη,
 τοῦτ' ἤδη πάσῃ πόλει ἔρχεται ἔλκος ἄφυκτον,
 ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἦλυθε δουλοσύνην,

²³ P.J. RHODES, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 96: «Almost certainly it would be wrong to assume that all ἐκτῆμοροι were poor, all their overlords rich and all independent farmers moderately prosperous: more probably some ἐκτῆμοροι were prospering and some independent farmers had fallen into debt...»

²⁴ F. CASSOLA, *Solone, la terra, e gli ectemoroi*, *PP* 9 (1964), p. 35-41.

ἢ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὐδοντ' ἐπεγείρει,
 ὃς πολλῶν ἔρατὴν ὤλεσεν ἡλικίην·
 ἐκ γὰρ δυσμενέων ταχέως πολυήρατον ἄστυ
 τρύχεται ἐν συνόδοις τοῖς ἀδικέουσι φίλους.
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐν δήμῳ στρέφεται κακά· τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν
 ἱκνέονται πολλοὶ γαῖαν ἐς ἀλλοδαπὴν
 πραθέντες δεσμοῖσιν τ' ἀεικελίοισι δεθέντες

There is a problem with this text, though: West's edition indicates lacunae. Is Solon talking about only two categories: the rich and powerful (δήμου θ' ἡγεμόνων = πλουτέουσιν) versus the poor and oppressed (τῶν δὲ πενιχρῶν)? But what if the wealthy are a third category in their own right, including a number of the *kakoi*? Could it be that in the struggle for land not only the *agathoi*, but also some of the more wealthy *kakoi* try to enhance their position in an illegal way by turning to the temple and communal land? Could this strategy, then, be an alternative, in particular for some of the *hektemoroi*, to get past the limitations set by the nobility, to extend their own claim to land and power? Solon's restoration of order into Attica's affairs might involve a series of measures, as I have already suggested, which are somehow all interconnected. It is understandable why the unlawful confiscation by the leading *agathoi* of land which normally serves community purposes would create turmoil. The *hektemoroi* for their part would not feel the same need for participation and competition in this illegal expansion if they could call their land entirely their own, in other words if the external claim would be abolished and their rights guaranteed. We cannot be sure, precisely because our information is fragmentary. But we should keep in mind that the information we do have can be read in more than one way.

F. Cassola's interpretation of fragment 36 on the basis of fragment 4 would work only if we accept the dichotomy between rich and powerful on the one hand and the poor and oppressed on the other. But not only is the reading of fragment 4 uncertain, as I have just pointed out, we also have evidence from fragment 4 and other fragments of Solon that wealth is the disturbing factor in the conflict, and that this wealth is not limited to the elite:

- Fr. 4.5-6: αὐτοὶ δὲ φθείρειν μεγάλην πόλιν ἀφραδίῃσιν
 ἄστοι βούλονται χρήμασι πειθόμενοι
 Fr. 4.11: πλουτέουσιν δ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενοι
 Fr. 13.12: (πλοῦτος) ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενος
 Fr. 15: πολλοὶ γὰρ πλουτέουσι κακοί, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ πένονται·

ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τούτοις οὐ διαμειψόμεθα
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔμπεδον αἰεὶ,
 χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει.
 Fr. 6: δῆμος δ' ὧδ' ἂν ἄριστα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἔποιτο,
 μήτε λίην ἀνεθείς μήτε βιαζόμενος·
 τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἔπῃται
 ἀνθρώποις ὁπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ᾖ.

In fragment 4, line 6, the subject is the *general* category αὐτοὶ ἄστοι. Fragment 6 alludes to the disturbance of authority by wealth. One must admit that the terms *agathoi* and *kakoi* in fragment 15 bear another connotation here than the political one we have been using so far; they appear in the light of ἀρετή. But is this concept entirely free from political and religious connotations²⁵? Does it not get its content within the framework of the 'established' order, created by men, sanctioned by the gods?

Interesting in relation to this question is fragment 13.7-13, which distinguishes between two kinds of wealth: one is granted by the gods, and thus is justified; the other is a result of *hybris*, and consists of unjustly acquired possessions.

χρήματα δ' ἱμεῖρω μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
 οὐκ ἐθέλω· πάντως ὕστερον ἦλθε δίκη.
 πλοῦτον δ' ὃν μὲν δῶσι θεοί, παραγίγνεται ἀνδρὶ
 ἔμπεδος ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος ἐς κορυφὴν·
 ὃν δ' ἄνδρες τιμῶσιν ὕφ' ὕβριος, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον
 ἔρχεται, ἀλλ' ἀδίκους ἔργμασι πειθόμενος
 οὐκ ἐθέλων ἔπεται, ταχέως δ' ἀναμίσγεται ἄτῃ

One cannot help but think that the gods stand guarantee for the established, traditional order. Diametrically opposed to this notion is the concept of *hybris*. If *hybris* consists of going beyond the limits as imposed by the gods, the term can also pertain to violations against the structure of a society, in so far as this 'order of things' is said to be sanctioned by the gods. *Hybris* is omnipresent in Solon's fragments²⁶. Is there any reason to assume that *hybris* is limited to the *agathoi* only, and that the *kakoi* are excluded from this offense? The *agathoi* are liable for *hybris*, when they indulge in excessive greed for wealth and power, which contains the danger of tyranny (fragment 9.3-6)²⁷.

²⁵ Cf. Theognis of Megara (ed. J. Carrière, Budé) 57ff, 315ff; cf. also J. CARRIÈRE, *Theognis de Mégare. Étude sur le recueil élégiaque attribué à ce poète*, Paris [s.d.], p. 219-220.

²⁶ Fr.4.8, 34; fr.6.3; fr.13.11, 16.

²⁷ Cf. fr. 32 as well.

ἀνδρῶν δ' ἐκ μεγάλων πόλεις ὀλλυται, ἐς δὲ μονάρχου
 δῆμος αἰδρίῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.
 λίγην δ' ἐξάραντ' <οὐ> βράδιόν ἐστι κατασχεῖν
 ὕστερον, ἀλλ' ἤδη χρῆ <καλά> πάντα νοεῖν

The oppressed, poor and enslaved *kakoi* are merely victims, only dangerous in so far as the escalation of their situation or a sudden deterioration can trigger a crisis which opens the way to tyranny. But it is not entirely unlikely that some *kakoi* as well can commit *hybris*, when they are no longer willing to accept the prerogatives of the power-elite. This challenge, then, probably comes from the stronger elements among the *kakoi*, the ones with some economic power. Maybe fragment 6 alludes to the challenge of authority by the economically successful *kakoi*.

One distichon of fragment 4 shows that the situation which Solon faces is quite complex (18-19):

ἐς δὲ κακὴν ταχέως ἤλυθε δουλοσύνην
 ἢ στάσιν ἔμφυλον πόλεμόν θ' εὐδοντ' ἐπεγείρει

Δουλοσύνη refers to the enslaved *kakoi*, the most oppressed group of all; πόλεμος refers to external conflicts, στάσις to internal turmoil. Stahl²⁸ claims that the concept of *stasis* refers to a power-struggle mainly among the leading *agathoi*. Later sources do not read the concept this way, and the question remains if there would ever have been such a thing as the Solonian crisis, had it not been for the existence of oppressed but nevertheless strong elements among the lower social order who challenged the prerogatives of the leading class.

If my argument has established the possibility that the economically successful *kakoi* are crucial to the Solonian crisis, how does this relate to the *hektemoroi*? How do we tie the notion of wealth to the issue of land ownership? The only real clue here is the importance of land in the conflict. Fragment 34 deals with the greed of the *kakoi*. According to the *Athenaion Politeia*, this fragment refers to the demand for a redistribution of the available land, which Solon refuses to carry through. Most important are the closing lines (8-9):

... οὐδὲ πειρί[ρ]ης χθονὸς
 πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοὺς ἰσομοιρίην ἔχειν²⁹

²⁸ *Op. cit.* (n.4), p. 89ff.

²⁹ Morris refers explicitly to these lines as well, *op. cit.* (n.6), p. 207, but not with the same emphasis I would like to give them.

Right at the heart of the conflict between *agathoi* (*esthloi* here) and *kakoi* is land. The word ἰσομοιρίη reminds us of later political concepts, constituting the very core of the Athenian democracy, such as ἰσονομία and ἰσηγορία³⁰. Andrewes³¹ is probably right in pointing out that the refusal of a drastic land redistribution does not per se prevent Solon from validating the partial claim which the *hektemoroi* held to the land. Precisely because they already had a claim, the validation of their rights does not fall under the heading of land redistribution. By abolishing the hektemorage status, «freeing land», no land is given to anyone who does not have at least some claim to it. As to the *hybris* theme in this context, we know of examples of claims to land which are justified on a religious basis, the local hero-cults being a striking instance.

A close look at the arrangement of the fragments in paragraph 12 of the *Athenaion Politeia* appears to be quite revealing too. This is how the paragraph is structured:

- A. Both parties, *agathoi* and *kakoi* – Solon's compromise
end: military metaphor
- B. The δῆμος (fragments of Solon's poems):
 - the problem of authority in connection with wealth (fr. 6)
 - the demand for a redistribution of the land (fr. 34)
 - *seisachtheia* (fr. 36)
- C. Both parties – dissatisfaction with Solon's compromise
end: military metaphor.

The fact that the *demos* is represented vs the leading and rich, as the parties in the conflict, does not necessarily imply that the *demos* in its entirety does not have any significant resources, although the *Athenaion Politeia* tends to interpret it this way.

The least one could say here is that even the *Athenaion Politeia* envisages the conflict as complex. Maybe there is another theme present in all three fragments of B, besides the one of oppression, to which the *Athenaion Politeia* adheres in general, namely the economically successful *hektemoroi* who are assaulting the bastion of power, who want to see their claims guaranteed and who want to get rid of their dues.

The introduction of the fragment about *seisachtheia* uses the opposi-

³⁰ Cf. also G. FERRARA, *La politica di Solone*, Napoli 1964, p. 125-126.

³¹ *CAH* III 3, p.382: «... there is no inconsistency in supposing that he freed the land tilled by the hektemoroi from dues owed to the rich: that was not to put the base on a level with the noble».

tion between enslaved and free. Clearly «enslaved» is again not used in the strict sense, just as Solon himself applied it metaphorically to the land. Maybe this usage of the term is a linguistic reflection of the fact that Attica up to Solon was still in the transition from the master/serf to the citizen/chattel-slave relationship, and that the concepts «enslaved» or «slave» had not yet fully acquired their later technical sense.

Paragraph 12 of the *Athenaion Politeia* has a sequential and a circular structure, the latter in the sense that the opening and closing fragments within the paragraph both deal with the two parties involved, and that both contain military metaphors:

A. end: ἔσθην δ' ἀμφιβαλὼν κρατερὸν σάκος ἀμφοτέροισι νικᾶν δ'
οὐκ εἶας' οὐδετέρους ἀδίκως

C. end: ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν μεταίχμῳ ὄρος κατέστην...

Since the *μεταίχμιος* can refer to the space between two rows of spears — quite an appropriate metaphor for a mediator in a potentially violent conflict — but also to the borderland over which a battle is fought, and since we already saw an important occurrence of the *horos* in fragment 36, the passage might be yet another indication that land did play a crucial role in the socio-political conflict under consideration. The medium of poetry allows Solon to identify himself with the *horos*. The mediator «freed» land, maybe freeing some of it to the advantage of the *hektemoroi* by validating their claim, but he was opposed to a drastic redistribution. Thus he limited the demands of both parties, *agathoi* as well as *kakoi*, for land and prevented them from getting what was not theirs to take, functioning metaphorically as a boundary stone.

IV

The main issue concerning the *hektemoroi* is the land. In the formation of the *polis* as a citizen-estate, «citizenship was inextricably bound up with the ownership of land», as Morris states³². I would like to carry Andrewes's hypothesis one step further in the light of Morris's research on the early revival period and the origins of the *polis*. Morris, however, sees the *hektemoroi* as follows: «The archaeological and literary sources seem to combine in support of the view that the 'hektemoroi' were serfs, working on the land *owned*³³ by the *agathoi*; and that in freeing this land

³² *Op. cit.* (n.6), p. 175.

³³ My italics.

for them, Solon at least created a situation where there was a chance for the hektemoroi to turn into free citizens»³⁴.

Following Andrewes, I argue that the *hektemoroi* could have been more important for their strength than for their weakness, that maybe they were already beyond the status of serfs because they did have a claim on the land they worked, and that they were at the center of the eighth century's development towards the *polis*-structure: the status of hektemorage could have been one way for the *kakos* to get his piece of the cake, that is of the land, and to establish a claim to political power. If these *kakoi* basically benefited from the rivalry among the different clans and from the need of manpower, they had at least some bargaining power in order to get what they wanted, even if they succeeded only partially³⁵.

After the initial opening up of social structures, however, Attica reverted to a pre-*polis* society, with a strong predominance of the *agathoi*, in the seventh century up to the reforms of Cleisthenes. Solon then, in validating the claim of the *hektemoroi*, would represent yet another phase in the struggle for political power, at the heart of which lies the ownership of land. If the *hektemoroi* were semi-independent farmers, it is not hard to understand why they were in the epicenter of this wave of turmoil. For if the hypotheses presented in this paper hold, their claim to their own land was weak and threatened by the protecting power right from the start; they were probably among the first to feel the regression, and to resent it strongly. Other factors could have contributed to a sudden and explosive deterioration of the growing conflict, such as new economic resources or an attempt to solidify the dependency of the *hektemoroi* in written law, as, for instance, in the codification of Draco³⁶.

As the *Athenaion Politeia* states³⁷: both *kakoi* and *agathoi* were disappointed with Solon. By validating the claim of the *hektemoroi* Solon strengthened their political position too. Thus a seemingly moderate measure, in fact too moderate for the less fortunate among the *kakoi*, could turn into a fundamental change of the established order

³⁴ *Op. cit.* (n.6), p. 207.

³⁵ V. ANDO, *A Study of Servile Peasantry of Ancient Greece, centering around Hektemoroi of Athens. Forms of Control and Subordination in Antiquity*, Leiden 1988, p. 327, points to a possible parallel in eighth-century A.D. Japan.

³⁶ This, of course, is very hypothetical, but it has been suggested by W.G. FORREST, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 150 and P.J. RHODES, *op. cit.* (n.1) p. 96-97, among others.

³⁷ 11.2.

(the *τάξις*), a *further* opening up which was not exactly welcomed by the leading *agathoi*³⁸.

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³⁸ This paper is dedicated to my teachers in Ancient History, Professors H. VERDIN (KU Leuven), A. CHRISTOPHERSON (University of Cincinnati), and R. STROUD (University of California, Berkeley). The main hypotheses it deals with saw the light in the course of a seminar in Cincinnati, Fall '88/Winter '89, which explains why some more recent publications do not appear in this article (e.g. S. LINK, *Landverteilung und sozialer Frieden im archaischen Griechenland* [*Historia Einzelschriften*, 69], Stuttgart 1991; Ph. MANVILLE, *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*, Princeton 1990).

THE BATTLE OF OINOE IN THE STOA POIKILE A Fake Jewel in the Fifth-Century Athenian Crown?

1. THE STOA POIKILE OR PAINTED STOA

The group of paintings that adorned the Stoa Poikile in Athens never ceases to attract and puzzle modern scholars: various interpretations have been suggested over the years, but none has as yet proven to be fully satisfactory¹.

The facts are well-known. In antiquity the most famous building in Athens was not the Parthenon. Judging from ancient authors, the highlight of the city was the stoa on the Agora that housed a number of paintings — hence Stoa Poikile or Painted Stoa. More specifically, the painting that represented the battle of Marathon was the most celebrated piece of art at Athens: it made a strong impression on the Athenians, both for its aesthetic and moral values, and they accordingly took particular pride in it².

The Marathon picture is one of the paintings of which we know for certain that it was lodged in the Stoa Poikile, for it is featured in the description Pausanias gives of the stoa's decoration³. The Periegete mentions three more pictures: one showing «the Athenians arrayed in Argive Oinoe against the Lakedaimonians», another presenting a scene

¹ To mention only the most recent efforts on the paintings: R.E. WYCHERLEY, *The Painted Stoa*, *Phoenix* 7 (1953), p. 20-35, esp. p. 24-30; J.S. BOERSMA, *Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C.* (*Scripta Archaeologica Groningana*, 4), Groningen 1970, p. 55-57; T. HOELSCHER, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, Würzburg 1973, p. 50-84; Anna Maria BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni epiche e storiografia. Studi su Erodoto e Tucidide*, Napoli 1989, p. 62-67; E.D. FRANCIS, *Image and Idea in Fifth-Century Greece. Art and Literature after the Persian Wars* (ed. M. VICKERS), London - New York 1990, p. 85-98.

² R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Phoenix* 7 (1953), p.20, has drawn attention to the fact that nowadays we tend to give too large a place to sculpture, at the expense of painting, in the scheme of Greek art. The chances are very high that this is mostly due to the fact that practically none of the paintings from antiquity have come down to us.

³ Pausanias I 15.1-4. We hear of several other paintings in the Stoa Poikile, but either the texts that have them are confused and full of doubts (this goes particularly for the *scholion* mentioning the painting showing the *Suppliant Herakleidae*) or the subjects are downright improbable; see H.A. THOMPSON – R.E. WYCHERLEY, *AA* XIV, p. 92 with n. 47-49.

of the sack of Troy (the Greek warlords discussing in a joint council Lokrian Ajax's rape of Cassandra), and a third depicting Athenians fighting with Theseus against Amazons. Pausanias conveys the relative order of the paintings: the first scene is Oinoe; next come — «in the middle of the rear wall (see n. 13)» — the two mythological pictures; Marathon concludes the series.

As a matter of course the paintings have perished, along with most of the stoa itself. Fortunately we can rely on information provided by various sources (of which Pausanias is the most important)⁴, and furthermore the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens have shed light on some of the controversies that arise from the ancient testimonia⁵.

The first problem the excavators have solved once and for all is the way the pictures were done. Until some decades ago scholars could not agree on whether the paintings were frescoes applied directly to the walls or whether they were painted on wooden panels that were afterwards hung on a (the) wall(s). The literary evidence on this point⁶ was definitely confirmed in 1949. That year the excavators discovered wall blocks from the Stoa Poikile with a peculiar feature: at regular intervals, «many drilled holes appear(ed), in some of which still remain(ed) the rusted stumps of iron pins of the diameter of a lead pencil»⁷. Now we know that, apart from the paintings, there were also shields disposed around the stoa⁸. Still, in combination with the literary

⁴ All testimonia with regard to the stoa and its paintings have been conveniently assembled by R.E. WYCHERLEY, *AA* III, p. 31-45, nos. 47-98, and are discussed in H.A. THOMPSON — R.E. WYCHERLEY, *AA* XIV, p. 90-94; see also R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Phoenix* 7 (1953), p. 20-35.

⁵ H.A. THOMPSON, *Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 1949*, *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 313-337, esp. p. 327-329 (*The Stoa Poikile*); Lucy S. MERITT, *The Stoa Poikile*, *Hesperia* 39 (1970), p. 233-264; T.L. SHEAR Jr., *The Athenian Agora: Excavations of 1980-1982*, *Hesperia* 53 (1984), p. 1-57, esp. p. 5-19 (*The Stoa Poikile*).

⁶ About 400 A.D. Bishop Synesios of Cyrene visited Athens and somewhat disappointedly remarked in two letters (*Epist.* 54 and 135 = R.E. WYCHERLEY *AA* III, p. 43-44 nos. 93-94) that the Stoa was no longer ποικίλη because the στανίδες had been removed; this seemingly decisive remark has nevertheless been doubted: see M.H. SWINDLER, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven 1929, p. 216 with n. 59; R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Phoenix* 7 (1953), p. 24 with n. 14. Two more instances, in which there is talk of πίνακες — Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconica* 232e and Sopratos, *Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων* 340 sqq. — are challenged: see respectively Lilian H. JEFFERY, *The Battle of Oinoe in the Stoa Poikile: a Problem in Greek Art and History*, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 41-57, esp. p. 47 n. 29 and R.E. WYCHERLEY, *Phoenix* 7 (1953), p. 24 n. 13 and *AA* III, p. 42, comm. on no. 89.

⁷ H.A. THOMPSON, *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 328.

⁸ In fact one of these shields has been found: see T.L. SHEAR, *Hesperia* 6 (1937),

evidence, it seems probable that these wall blocks may be linked with the paintings: similar cases, in which pictures were «supported on a grid of wooden scantlings secured to the wall by means of iron spikes»⁹, are known to us¹⁰, and one of the painters involved, Polygnotos of Thasos, was used to painting on wooden panels¹¹.

Another hotly debated issue concerning the paintings is when they were conceived. This question is crucial, for it bears directly on the interpretation of the interrelation between the paintings. Relevant to these problems are the identity of the people who commissioned them and of the painter(s) as well as the way the paintings were arranged on the walls of the stoa.

Over the years various attempts have been made to reconstruct the respective positions of the paintings. Unfortunately Pausanias' text is open to more than one interpretation: it has been recognised that any reconstruction solely on the basis of Pausanias is «purely conjectural»¹². If the excavations had not come up with the decisive answer, the problem would have been reduced to a stalemate. As it is, after the expedition of 1980-1982 the excavators were able to provide the solution. On their good authority we learn that *all* the paintings were nailed up next to one another on a wooden framework that was attached to the rear wall¹³. The importance of this find cannot be underestimated,

p. 346-348; Id., *AE* 1937, p. 140-143; *The Athenian Agora. A Guide to the Excavation and the Museum*, ed. by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens 1962², p. 169.

⁹ H.A. THOMPSON, *Hesperia* 19 (1950), p. 328.

¹⁰ The fact that paintings were on wooden panels and not in fresco appears to have been normal in fifth-century Athenian wall decoration: J.S. BOERSMA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 57, points to the inner walls of the Tholos, Hephaisteion, Pinakothek of the Propylaia, east cella of the Erechtheion, and rear wall of the Stoa Basileios, which were all prepared for the application of wall paintings. For an extensive list of modern studies on this subject see R.B. KEBRIC, *The Paintings in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphi and their Historical Context* (*Mnemosyne*, suppl. 80), Leiden 1983, p. 12 n. 50.

¹¹ See Lilain H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 42-43 n. 10.

¹² R.E. WYCHERLEY, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, p. 40. There is agreement on the relative order of the paintings. It is widely assumed that Pausanias described the stoa on his way out of the Agora and therefore approached the stoa from the West (cf. E. VANDERPOOL, *The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, p. 128-137). Now with the stoa facing approximately south on to the agora, its most westerly painting must have been the one furthest to the left of the building. As a result of this the generally accepted view is that Pausanias described the paintings from left to right (but see E.B. HARRISON, *AJA* 76, 1972, p. 364 n. 73).

¹³ T.L. SHEAR Jr., *Hesperia* 53 (1984) p. 13, 18-19. E.D. FRANCIS - M. VICKERS, *The Oenoe Painting in the Stoa Poikile, and Herodotus' Account of Marathon*, *ABSA* 80 (1985),

for it obviously implies that all four paintings were executed at the same time and therefore conceived as a whole, a coherent cycle of paintings exuding a well-considered idea.

This is where the patron(s) of the paintings come(s) in. It has long been realised that the subjects chosen for the paintings and their elaboration might reflect the political climate in which they were produced, and hence reveal their date¹⁴.

There are a number of elements in or about the paintings that can be taken to represent a pro-Kimonian sentiment: in the Sack of Troy one of the captive Trojan women was said to be painted with the face of Kimon's notorious half-sister Elpinike; Miltiades, Kimon's father, who had led the Athenians in their victory over the Persians at Marathon, was also conspicuously present in the painting; moreover, Kimon worked hard to keep the memory of the battle of Marathon alive, in order to diminish the merits of Themistokles, who had led the Athenians in their victory at Salamis; finally, the prominence of Theseus in the stoa's decoration — the expulsion of the Amazons was reckoned one of his great exploits, and he was also shown in the Marathon painting — was entirely in keeping with Kimon's long-standing interest in the legendary Attic hero, whom he 'used' quite often throughout his career for his own political purposes¹⁵.

p. 99-113, esp. p. 107, have shown that Pausanias' words can be interpreted in this way. Pausanias clearly states which were the first (πρῶτα μὲν) and the last (τελευταῖον δέ) paintings he saw, and he also makes explicitly clear that the mythological paintings (which are taken together) hung in the middle (ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων). Francis and Vickers «do not consider that the phrase ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων is the most suitable expression with which to introduce a pair of paintings of which the first is on the far left of the back wall, and only the second strictly 'in the middle'». What Pausanias evidently means is that Troy Taken and the Battle of the Amazons hung exactly in the middle of the rear wall, namely left and right of its vertical diameter.

¹⁴ C. ROBERT, *Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und weiteres über Polygnot (Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm, 18)*, Halle 1895, p. 45. This observation has ever since been the starting point of research on the meaning of the cycle of paintings.

¹⁵ The most obvious instances of this are the translation by Kimon of the True Bones of Theseus from Skyros (the island which Kimon himself subjugated sometime in the 470s) and the building and decoration of the Theseion in the Agora; see e.g. W.R. CONNOR, *Theseus in Classical Athens*, in *The Quest for Theseus*, ed. Anne G. WARD — W.R. CONNOR — R. EDWARDS — S. TIDWORTH, London-New York 1970, p. 157sq. & 166; A. MOLLE, *Étude de l'iconographie de Thésée en relation avec la politique de Cimon*, diss. Brussels 1968; A.J. PODLECKI, *Cimon, Skyros and «Theseus' Bones»*, *JHS* 91 (1971), p. 141-143; J.P. BARRON, *New Light on Old Walls. The Murals of the Theseion*, *JHS* 92 (1972), p. 20-45; C. DELVOYE, *Art et politique à Athènes à l'époque de Cimon*, in *Le Monde Grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, ed. J. BINGEN — G. CAMBIER — G. NACHTERGAEEL, Brussels 1975, p. 803-804; E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 46-66.

The assumption that there was a connection between Kimon and the paintings gains even more conclusive force when one considers a few people usually associated with the Stoa Poikile. The original name of the Stoa was τὸ Πεισιανακτεῖον, after the Peisianax who was responsible, in one way or another, for the erection of the building¹⁶. Probably born around 500 as member of the Alkmeonid family, he participated actively in public life during the second quarter of the 5th century. It has rightly been noted that Peisianax's adherence to the Alkmeonid clan does not necessarily mean he was a follower of Kimon¹⁷, but since he probably was Kimon's brother-in-law and since Kimon named one of his sons Peisianax, it would seem safe to presume he was. The same goes for Polygnotos of Thasos, the most famous painter of his time and one of the artists known to have worked on the pictures: he recognized Kimon as his patron¹⁸.

¹⁶ Very little is known of this man: see K. FIEHN, s.v. *Peisianax*, in *RE* XIX 1 (1937), col. 147-148. Scholars cannot agree on his exact relationship with the stoa. Two — not contradictory — possibilities remain in this respect. J.S. BOERSMA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56, is attracted by the supposition that he was the man who proposed the building of the stoa in the *Ekklesia*; his name would then have been mentioned in the building decree, and thus automatically associated with the stoa in the people's mind (H.A. THOMPSON — R.E. WYCHERLEY *AA* XIV, p. 90, favour this possibility). An alternative is supplied by R. MEIGGS, *The Political Implications of the Parthenon*, in *Parthenos and Parthenon* (G & R, Suppl. to vol. 10), 1963, p. 44: buildings that were begun after 462/1, the year of Ephialtes' reforms, did not carry any private donor's name, for that was an aristocratic privilege that «vanished under the levelling foundations of radical democracy» (Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60, 1965, p. 41). Since the original name of the stoa was τὸ Πεισιανακτεῖον, the building must have been begun before, or have been well under way by, 462/1. If so, the chances are very high that the rich aristocrat donated (i.e. partially or wholly financed) the stoa: it would be well befitting an adherent of Kimon to contribute to the embellishment of the city in such a way, as Kimon himself gained fame by doing so. T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 74, follows this line of thought, but he also agrees with H.A. THOMPSON — R.E. WYCHERLEY, *AA* XIV, p. 24, who correctly point out that «at least from the time of Kleisthenes onwards the Athenian Demos itself, in the *Ekklesia* and the *Boule*, (...) was the true creator of the architecture of the city, and of the *Agora* in particular, in its greatest days, approving each project, scrutinizing its progress, and checking the expenditure of every drachma».

¹⁷ In 1914, F. KOEPP, *Das Gemälde der Schlacht bei Oinoe in der Stoa Poikile zu Athen*, *RhM* 69 (1914), p. 164-165, already expressed this view. A.W. GOMME, *AJPh* 65 (1944), p. 321-331 (= *More Essays in Greek History and Literature*, 1962, p. 22-32), and W.G. FORREST, *Themistokles and Argos*, *CQ* N.S. 10 (1960), p. 233-235, have demonstrated that the Alkmeonid clan should not be seen as a monolithic block, sharing one and the same conviction.

¹⁸ R. MEIGGS, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1972, *Appendix 5. The Battle of Oenoe*, p. 471; R.B. KEBRIC, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 33-36, covers Kimon's relationship with Polygnotos, and with other artists of his time for that matter, extensively.

Given all this it need not surprise that a Kimonian influence on the cycle of paintings in the Stoa Poikile is almost unanimously accepted among scholars¹⁹, who consequently opt for a date in the 460s and, more specifically, before 462/1, the year Kimon was ostracised. However, a painting commemorating an Athenian victory over Sparta sticks out like a sore thumb in an otherwise clean-cut Kimonian context. What is more, since the battle of Oinoe was — as is equally generally accepted — fought at the time of the Athenian-Argive alliance that lasted from about 462 to 451²⁰, the painting can hardly have been painted before 462.

Formerly this awkward situation could be quite easily scotched: since the paintings were done on wooden boards it was possible to explain the Oinoe as a later, anti-Kimonian addition by the democrats to the original 'triad' which dated from the Kimonian period²¹. The archaeological evidence, however, has ruled this out: it is inconceivable that the Athenians would have positioned the three previous paintings in such an asymmetrical way that room was still left for a fourth painting at either end of the same wall. Therefore, another context has to be determined in which all four paintings fit together.

From this brief survey of the research on the Stoa Poikile, we learn that the battle of Oinoe is the pivotal problem. Besides the difficulty we have just touched upon, Pausanias' seemingly clear and unequivocal statement regarding the painting — a battle won by Athenians over Lakedaimonian forces somewhere in the Argolid — has caused discomfort in modern times for two more reasons.

First of all, since the subject proper of the picture (the battle of Oinoe) is noticeably absent from all our sources, many have doubted Pausanias' interpretation. The main objection is that there is no trace whatsoever of the battle in Thukydides' account of the *Pentekontaetia*,

¹⁹ See e.g. C. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 8; Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 41-42; J.S. BOERSMA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56-57; J.P. BARRON, *JHS* 92 (1972), p. 33; R. MEIGGS, *AE*, p. 471; T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 75-77; M. ROBERTSON, *A History of Greek Art I*, Cambridge 1975, p. 242-245; E.D. FRANCIS — M. VICKERS, *Argive Oenoe*, *AC* 54 (1985), p. 105-115, esp. p. 106-107; Anna Maria BIRASCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 62.

²⁰ See p. 100-105 below.

²¹ See T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 76 with n. 363. On the other hand, see J. SCHREINER, *The Battles of 490 B.C.*, *PCPS* n.s. 16 (1970), p. 101-102, who observes «a handsome and well-balanced contrast» in the first three paintings: «The first [Oinoe] showed the moment before the onslaught, the next [the *Amazonomachia*] the fortunes of battle, and finally [the *Iliupersis*] the sad aftermath of war. After these three comes the painting of the battles of Marathon».

the period to which it obviously belongs²². This has led a fair number of scholars to dismiss the battle of Oinoe as an invention of the Periegete: he allegedly completely missed the point when seeing the painting, which did not commemorate a/the battle of Oinoe at all.

Secondly, there are some who believe that the battle indeed took place, but who cannot accept that it was subsequently celebrated in the Stoa Poikile in Athens in the way suggested by Pausanias, for a public monument commemorating a contemporary event with a depiction of the actual fact remained very exceptional until the end of the 5th century.

Looking for a tentative solution to this «intractable problem»²³, we shall deal with two main points. First we have to examine if a battle of Oinoe and a painting actually showing it can fit in a specific conjuncture within the *Pentekontaetia*. After that we will try to determine the context of the Athenian commemoration.

2. HISTORICAL PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE BATTLE OF OINOE

Twice Pausanias explicitly states that an Athenian force defeated a Lakedaimonian army near Oinoe in the Argolid. The first mention in his account is at Athens (I 15.1). The only other occurrence in our remaining sources is when the Periegete is going up the Sacred Road in Delphi (X 10.3-4). There he comes across a statue group representing the Seven against Thebes; it was made by two sculptors, Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton²⁴, «who executed it, so the Argives themselves say,

²² See p. 100-105 below.

²³ E. Badian's wording (*Towards a Chronology of the Pentekontaetia down to the Renewal of the Peace of Callias*, EMC N.S. 7, 1988, p. 289-320); the battle of Oinoe, while being intermittently in the news, has attracted many more *epitheta*: «elusive», «one of the regular exercises in speculation for the historians of the Pentecontaetia», «one of the most shadowy events (or non-events) of the Pentecontaetia». It surely lives up to its fame (or should we say notoriety?): it seems as though every scholar makes a point of putting in his oar on this topic (the bibliography on the problem comprises some 30 (!) titles, not to mention the numerous allusions to it in general reference works).

²⁴ This is still the single most convincing argument for dating the battle of Oinoe about the middle of the *Pentekontaetia*, and not in the beginning of the fourth century B.C. as was suggested until the end of the last century. Due credit for having pointed research on the battle of Oinoe in the right direction should be given to C. ROBERT, who on two occasions (*Archäologische Nachlese IV. Die Schlacht bei Oinoa*, *Hermes* 25, 1890, p. 412-422, and *op. cit.* [n. 14]) drew attention to an inscription bearing the joint signatures of Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton; from the lettering this inscription (a

from the spoils of the victory which they and allies from the Athenians won against the Spartans in Argive Oinoe (X 10.4)»²⁵.

It is striking that Pausanias in both cases seems very confident (a) that such a battle did take place; (b) that it was commemorated the way it was²⁶. Very good arguments have been put forward in support of the suggestion that Pausanias got his information about the Seven from an inscription inscribed on one of the statues²⁷. As for the painting we have no clue as to how the Periegete came to label it «the Battle of Oinoe». It has been suggested that, similar to the Marathon painting (which featured the hero Marathon), the nymph Oinoe was depicted as local deity and, at the same time, as topographical signpost²⁸.

Had the Argive inscription survived, we would have had at our disposal strong evidence for the very occurrence of the battle. As matters stand, however, other ground has to be broken.

Although Pausanias mentions Oinoe on the way from Argos to Mantinea, the exact location has long been hidden in the mists of time. Recently W.K. Pritchett²⁹ has offered good reasons for locating it at

dedication on another occasion) could hardly be dated later than the mid-fifth century. Since Robert's assumption was based on a facsimile of the original stone, not all were convinced, but when the original base finally resurfaced (see H. POMTOW, *Die «Sieben gegen Theben»*, *Klio* 8, 1908, p. 188-190), any lingering doubt was taken away.

²⁵ Transl. E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *AC* 54 (1985), p. 108.

²⁶ On his own account Pausanias links a second group of statues, representing the *Epigonoï* and standing nearby, with the same affair. In this case, however, he has been shown wrong: the inscription that is by general consent attributed to the base of the *Epigonoï* should be dated, again on the basis of the lettering, ca. 460 at the latest, and it certainly antedates the 'Seven'; it probably belongs to the years 485-465 (see H. POMTOW, *Die Topographie von Delphoi*, in *RE Suppl.* IV, 1924, col. 1227; Lilian H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961 [= 1990], p. 162-164; and most recently I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *De interpolitieke en internationale betrekkingen van Argos in de vijfde eeuw v.Chr., gezien tegen de achtergrond van de intra-politieke ontwikkelingen*, Groningen 1982, p. 119). That the two groups of statues definitely were not contemporary was already apparent from the lists given of the Seven and the *Epigonoï*: H. POMTOW, *Klio* 8 (1908), p. 321-325.

²⁷ C. ROBERT, *Hermes* 25 (1890), p. 413; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 6-7; H. POMTOW, *Klio* 8 (1908), p. 190-192; ID., *RE Suppl.* IV (1924), col. 1225; M. BUONOCORE, *Tanagra ed Enoe*, in *Sesta miscellanea greca e romana*, Rome 1978, p. 121.

²⁸ C. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 7 & 43; this hypothesis has been accepted by most scholars: see e.g. K.J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte* II/2, Strasbourg 1916², p. 208; H.E. STIER, *Eine Grosstat der attischen Geschichte*, Stuttgart 1934, p. 34; H. RUDOLPH, *H.E. Stier, Eine Grosstat der attischen Geschichte*, *Gnomon* 11 (1935), p. 383; E.D. FRANCIS — M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 102 and 105; E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 92.

²⁹ *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, Part III (*Roads*), Berkeley — Los Angeles — London 1980, p. 2-12; he takes issue with, and convincingly overrules, A. ANDREWES, *Could there have been a Battle at Oinoe?*, in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials*.

Merkourion (Masi), «in the upper Charadros valley guarding a route leading down the southern side of Mount Artemisium». This point is relevant, for the first question one must ask is whether a hoplite battle could be staged in the vicinity of Argive Oinoe. As it is, «the topography of the fields at Merkourion requires an affirmative answer to the question (...) ‘Could there have been a battle at Oinoe’³⁰»?

The only real starting-point we have for defining the time when the battle of Oinoe might have taken place are the names of the sculptors who made the Argive dedication (see above); we now have to check whether a suitable context for an Athenian-Argive collaboration can be found in the first half of the *Pentekontaetia*. It goes without saying that to date a single event exactly within a space of thirty years (from the end of the Persian Wars until ca. 450) is a hard row to hoe. There is, however, both negative and positive evidence available for an approximate date.

Taking into account that Athenian auxiliary troops came to the aid of the Argives against Lakedaimonian forces³¹, most of the 460s (until

Essays in Honour of C.E. Stevens on his Seventieth Birthday, ed. Barbara LEVICK, Farnborough 1975, p. 9-16, and R.A. TOMLINSON, *Argos and the Argolid*, London 1972, p. 38.

³⁰ W.K. PRITCHETT, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 49. This is especially true in view of the fact that the battle of Oinoe need not have been a full-scale hoplite battle at all (cf. p. 105 & n. 43 below).

It may be objected that Pausanias does not say a word about the battle when actually describing Oinoe in the Argolid (II 25.3; see also VIII 6.4-6). On the other hand, «this is quite common in Pausanias; thus in his long description of Tanagra (IX 20-22) he has not a word about the great battle, which he reports elsewhere» (E. BADIEN, *EMC* N.S. 7, 1988, p. 311-312 n. 29). What is more, the fact that the *Periegete* fails to report the battle of Oinoe in this instance may well be a reason to believe him. Indeed, Pausanias never connects the monuments or the paintings spontaneously with Oinoe in Argolis, but reads it in an inscription or on the painting (possibly helped by a local guide). Oinoe itself was not turned into a touristic attraction where everything reminded of a battle fought by Argives, Athenians and Spartans in the old days. On the contrary, the region contained «only a few villages. It can hardly have been (...) densely populated in antiquity since there is not enough land available. (...) The importance of the Oinoe valley was political rather than economic» (R.A. TOMLINSON, *op. cit.* [n. 29], p. 38). In that case, Pausanias had no reason to think of a battle.

How Pausanias came to locate Oinoe in the Argolid and e.g. did not link the painting to the hamlet near Marathon, can no longer be retrieved, but «gerade die gänzliche Singularität [seiner] Angabe [ist] die beste Empfehlung für deren Echtheit» (H. RUDOLPH, *loc. cit.*, p. 383).

³¹ That it was foremost an Argive victory, achieved by the Argives themselves with Athenian reinforcements, can be clearly inferred from Pausanias' text (particularly X 10.4: ὥς αὐτοὶ Ἀργεῖοι λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἦντινα ἐν Οἰνῳ τῇ Ἀργείᾳ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐπικούροι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐνίκησαν). The phrasing Ἀθηναίων ἐπικούροι has

462/1) can, in all probability, be ruled out: considering Kimon's philolakonian policy we can hardly expect him to have taken the initiative for such an undertaking. The 470s can also be disregarded: the impact Sparta had on the Argolid since the battle of Sepeia (ca. 495) remained intact until the second half of the 460s.

On the other hand, the last decade of the said period is pre-eminently suited to the battle of Oinoe: about 462 Athens and Argos entered into an alliance that lasted until 451 and which was entirely in keeping with the distinctly anti-Spartan line Athens pursued at the time.

There is agreement among scholars that, if ever the battle of Oinoe did occur, it must have been contemporary with the painting. The least that can be said is that the time of the Argive alliance does not contradict the names of the painters involved in the project of the Stoa's decoration: all three of them — Polygnotos of Thasos, Mikon, and Panainos of Athens³² — were active in the second quarter of the fifth century, with a slight preference for the middle of the century for the last named. In any event, I think there are some concomitant arguments that even hint at a more precise date, immediately after the conclusion of the alliance.

been interpreted as meaning «auxiliary forces consisting of Athenians», implying that the Athenians did not march out πανστρατιῇ (W. KOLBE, *Diodors Wert für die Geschichte der Pentekontaetie*, *Hermes* 72, 1937, p. 257; I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* [n. 26], p. 118, with a slight modification: see below). This corresponds with my reconstruction of the facts: see p. 105 below.

Hendriks thinks that Ἀθηναίων ἐπικούροι implies that not-specified Athenians came to help the Argives, Athenians who were not dispatched by the Athenian *polis* but marched out on their own account. In that case the year of the conclusion of the Argive-Athenian alliance would no longer provide us with a *terminus post quem* for the battle of Oinoe. Hendriks is inclined to link the battle with Themistokles' activities in the Argolid during his banishment, and consequently supposes that the Athenian relief troops consisted of supporters of the exile. After 462/1 the Athenians would have fallen back on this incident to promote and justify the alliance with Argos. I think this is rather unlikely, for the Dutch scholar assumes that the new leaders of Athens could still make use of a battle that had taken place almost a decade earlier, with which the city had not been directly concerned and which could hardly have found any response in Athens while Kimon was the leading man.

³² For the testimonia on these painters, see J. OVERBECK, *Antiken Schriftquellen*, Leipzig 1868, nos. 1042-1079 (Polygnotos), 1080-1093 (Mikon), 1094-1108 (Panainos); on their careers, see A. RUMPF, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, München 1953, p. 91-103; M. ROBERTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 241-245 and 322-324. The painting of the battle of Oinoe is the only one of which the name of the actual painter is not known. However, since the other three pictures can only be ascribed thanks to chance references (Pausanias, for instance, does not say a word on this subject), C. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 3, in my view correctly warns against making too much of this.

The very first occasion on which a collaboration between the new allies is known to us is the battle of Tanagra, which took place in 458/7. It is not unfair to suppose some joint Athenian-Argive action sooner than four years into the alliance, and the battle of Oinoe is fit to fill the gap. Indeed, military alliances like those Athens concluded with Argos and Thessaly in 462/1 were not rhetorical gestures to thwart a third party, but actually meant that at least one of the allies was at war with such a party, or very nearly so, the conclusion of the alliance being the final provocation³³. In this case either Athens or Argos must have been in need of military assistance. Argos is the most likely candidate: since the mid-460s it had, at the expense of Sparta and its League, enlarged its own power over the northeastern sector of the Peloponnese by subjecting some of the smaller nearby cities (e.g. Tiryns and Mykenai). Whether or not the Argives' intention was to recover the entire district of Kynuria (the border region between Argos and Sparta on the east coast of the Peloponnese) as well, they had every reason to dread a counterattack by their archenemy.

Two more reasons for this early date draw on arguments for dating the painting of the battle as soon as possible after 462/1 (ca. 459-458 at the latest).

First, if the battle had taken place later, its importance would have been dwarfed by other victories Athens achieved in that period, as a result of which it would never have made it onto the painting³⁴.

Moreover, it has been noted that Themistokles' political ideas were not completely banned from the Athenian scene after he had been ostracised: a number of facts suggest that while Kimon was still firmly pulling the strings, some resistance reared its head. «It is true that these indications are very few, partly handed down only in sources of a late and uncertain date, but the growing opposition to Kimon can hardly be denied»³⁵. The key position in this process is occupied by the Spartans' rebuff of the Athenian forces which, commanded by Kimon himself, had come to assist in the siege of Ithome. This episode has rightly been

³³ Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1985), p. 52-53; I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 101-103; but see A.J. HOLLADAY, *Sparta's Role in the First Peloponnesian War*, *JHS* 97 (1977), p. 54.

³⁴ W. KOLBE, *Hermes* 72 (1937), p. 261; R. MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 471; T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 68. Further evidence for a higher date might be that Oinoe does not figure in the casualty list of the Erechtheid tribe recording the battles fought in the year 459/8 (*IG* I² 929 = MEIGGS-LEWIS 33).

³⁵ I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 100.

labelled «perhaps the major turning-point in the *Pentekontaetia*»³⁶, because it led to a double shift in Athenian politics, in internal as well as external affairs. Internally, Kimon was ostracised and the Areopagus reformed by Ephialtes; externally, Themistokles' beliefs were returned to: Athens broke with Sparta and confirmed this through an alliance with Argos, that at the same time had reinforced its control of the Argolid and started to lay claim to the hegemony over the Peloponnese.

The idea of an alliance with Argos seems to have been lingering in Athens for quite a while already. We gather this from reflections of the said contemporary events in the *Supplikes* by Aischylos, who in this play is said to have underlined the right of the Argives to supremacy over the Peloponnese³⁷. By thus showing he was well-disposed towards the Argives the playwright tried to get the Athenians steamed up for an alliance with Argos.

In 458 Aischylos apparently was still toying with the idea of the alliance: he wrote the *Oresteia*, and again «he brought the alliance before his audience in commendatory terms»³⁸.

It is obvious that Aischylos, with these plays, was taking a stand on the political situation of the day³⁹. There are reasons to believe that

³⁶ D.M. LEWIS, *The Origins of the First Peloponnesian War (Classical Contributions, McGregor Studies)*, New York 1981, p. 76.

³⁷ A.J. PODLECKI, *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy*, Michigan 1966, p. 42-62; I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 106; E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 101.

³⁸ A.J. PODLECKI, *op. cit.*, p. 82-83 (see also p. 94-95). There is a threefold reference to a perpetual military alliance between Athens and Argos in the *Eumenides* (v. 287-291; 669-673; 762-774). The two measures taken by the new leaders (reform of the Areopagus and Argive alliance) appear in this trilogy (part. the *Eumenides*) linked closely together: «they guarantee what every city needs: internal harmony and security against others» (see C.W. MACLEOD, *Politics and the Oresteia*, *JHS* 102, 1982, p. 129). For the *Oresteia* and the Argive Alliance (apart from the papers already cited): K.J. DOVER, *The Political Aspect of Aeschylus' Eumenides*, *JHS* 77 (1957), p. 230-237, esp. p. 235-236; J.H. QUINCEY, *Orestes and the Argive Alliance*, *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964), p. 190-206; I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 106-107; E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 101.

³⁹ I am well aware of the dangers involved in treating tragedy as a commentary of the writer on the events of his own time. Indeed, as C.W. MacLeod argues, «the function of tragedy in its social and historical context is not to comment directly on the times, but to raise to universality and touch with emotion the experience of the dramatist and his fellow-citizens, to interpret in myth and drama their deepest concern as human beings» (*JHS* 102, 1982, p. 131). Whenever a tragedian includes an event that happened close to his own time, «he is rather giving a certain significance to something contemporary than commenting on it for its own sake» (*ibid.*). Still, when he presents something, it may well be part of a poetic design, but it surely implies something about his political views as well. I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 105 gives «some considerations that justify the use of

Aischylos was not alone in his opinion and that the allusions to contemporary political situations and developments should be seen in a larger context. Forrest has pointed out that Aischylos maintained a close relationship with Perikles (who in 472 acted as the *choregos* for the *Persians*) and accordingly came to the conclusion that the political ideas of the group supporting Themistokles, Ephialtes and Perikles was present in (some of) his plays⁴⁰. It can be advanced that *Supplikes* was staged in 463 — well more than a year before the *συμμαχία* was concluded — and that allusions to the Argives' rights to the dominion of the Peloponnese were therefore out of place. However, Aischylos belonged to the side of Ephialtes and Perikles, as a consequence of which such an allusion is not impossible, for certainly such an alliance had already been thought about. Moreover, as I have just said, the opposition to Kimon's politics increased before 462, which means that basic plans for a 'revolution' like the one in 462/1 may already have been in the air⁴¹.

More attempts have been made to lift artistic expressions and movements from their aesthetic isolation and give them a political dimension; Hoelscher, for instance, states that in the 5th century, simultaneously with the upcoming shift to a more profane art, historical representations no longer had a specific religious function, but were often testimony to a resolute political conviction of separate leading personalities or parties; in this respect the setting was of vital importance⁴².

tragedy as a historical source within the bounds of reason; if possible, such interpretation of any tragedy should be substantiated by facts and clues not derived from that tragedy». It cannot be denied that the tragic playwright was part of his time and had his plays performed before an audience that, in another context, had to make very important decisions. As such the tragedian was influenced by his time and circumstances (but, as C.W. MACLEOD, *art. cit.*, p. 144, observes, they are an influence on the work, not its meaning).

⁴⁰ W.G. FORREST, *CQ* N.S. 10 (1960), p. 234-240; see also Enrica Culasso GASTALDI, *Propaganda e politica negli «Eleusinii» di Eschilo*, in *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico*, a cura di Marta SORDI, Milano 1976, p. 50-71.

⁴¹ Cf. W.G. FORREST, *CQ* N.S. 10 (1960), p. 240: «since the Argive alliance was concluded soon after Kimon's failure, we may reasonably suppose that it was already being advanced as an alternative. Can we conjecture, on the strength of the *Supplikes*, that it was already public democratic policy in 463, or rather in late 464, that the play was planned and written to commend it?» See also A.J. PODLECKI, *op.cit.* (n. 37), p. 61.

⁴² Hoelscher makes a point of stating that art was related to politics, but was not subjected completely to propagandistic ends: «All diese Motive haben nicht so sehr politische als vielmehr religiöse Wurzeln. (...) Als Gattung mit eigenen Gesetzen, die das

Given all this, the possibility of the heirs to Themistokles' ideas starting already before 462/1, and maintaining until 458, a great drive in support of their policy, is acceptable. Kimon may have had to deal with opposition, but the newly-installed, radically-democratic administration must have had its share of resistance as well. To silence it, and at the same time to secure more support, it can be conjectured that the new administrators were at great pains to justify and brush up their politics. This will especially have been the case with foreign affairs, for they had a prestigious plan in mind: in imitation of Themistokles they wanted to confirm Athenian superiority in its struggle on two fronts, both against Sparta and against the Persians. It is plausible that they wanted to leave no doubt at all about their new policy and the newly formed alliance, sooner rather than later. Any given circumstance may have been appropriate for this purpose, and the battle of Oinoe may have been just that. This first success provided excellent propaganda material for one branch of foreign policy (the new administration had, so to speak, immediately given proof of its reliability). For the other, one could fall back on that paramount success in Athenian history, the battle of Marathon. It appears from Pausanias' description that Marathon was elevated to legendary status: indeed, in the painting gods, heroes and humans alike figured. As such Marathon was the historical paradigm of the conflict with the Persians. By incorporating these two victories into a group also containing the battle of the Amazons and the *Iliupersis*, the new leaders were able to justify their politics subtly but soundly. To increase the impact on the Athenian masses, they had the paintings hung on the most prominent spot of the Agora, the magnificent Stoa Peisianakteios on the north side.

Having assembled all these facts, we have at our disposal a number of elements that, admittedly, do not prove incontrovertibly Pausanias' information, but the cumulative character of the evidence can hardly be denied.

Recapitulation produces the following picture. By the end of the 460s Argos had regained control of the Argolid at the expense of Sparta and

ganze Bild Bestimmten und etwa eine Bewußt einseitige und tendenziöse Darstellung von Vorgängen und Tatsachen erlaubten, gibt es Propagandakunst in dieser Zeit nicht. Dennoch hatten diese Gemälde für die Griechen offensichtlich politische Bedeutung» (T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 77-78; see also p. 202-205; ID., *Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia. Kunst und Geschichte im späten 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, *JDAI* 89, 1974, p. 70-111).

had tightened up its relations with Mantinea and Athens, that was taking an anti-Spartan line after Kimon had fallen from power. This must have caused considerable distress in Sparta, at the time still struggling with the Messenian rebels at Ithome: it now faced a powerful coalition and must have had a sinking feeling in the northeast of the Peloponnese. Consequently the Lakedaimonians may have resorted to a surprise assault on the site of Oinoe⁴³, located near a strategic mountain pass on the way from Argos to Mantinea: if they could take Oinoe and control the pass, the two Peloponnesian *poleis* would be isolated and Sparta's northern frontier secured⁴⁴.

Probably the Argives only learnt about the plan when the Spartans had already set out, so that the Athenian allies did not have enough time to mobilize their entire army, but were only able to detach a limited force. The joint Argive-Athenian troops must then have hurried to the valley of the Charadros, where they ran into (or ambushed) the Lakedaimonian enemy; judging from the commemorations the counter-attack was a success⁴⁵.

Although the battle of Oinoe may have been fought on a relatively limited scale, the (exaggerated) pomp and circumstance can in both cases be explained wholly satisfactorily: the new political leaders of Athens saw their policy splendidly confirmed and geared their propaganda for it to this victory over the invincible Spartan hoplites, which must have particularly impressed the average Athenian; the Argives, on

⁴³ A full-scale attack was out of the question, since the main force was still engaged at Ithome. But then again, a small expeditionary force must have seemed sufficient, for it was, after all, a surprise attack.

⁴⁴ It has already been remarked that the importance of Oinoe was political rather than economic (n. 30 above).

⁴⁵ This reconstruction does not conflict with A.J. HOLLADAY's observation that «if there really was such a battle, it seems to have been on a small scale and not the action of a full League army such as one would expect» (*JHS* 97, 1977, p. 61). E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *AC* 54 (1985), esp. p. 110-111, arrive at a similar conclusion. I would like to stress, however, that I do not accept the hypothesis originally formulated by R. HERZOG, *Auf den Spuren der Telesilla*, *Philologus* 71 (1912), p. 1-23 (esp. p. 20-22) and revived by FRANCIS & VICKERS, p. 109-112. These scholars relate an inscribed *θιάσος* found in the Argolid to the battle of Oinoe: they think the Pleistarchos mentioned in the inscription is the son of the Spartan king Leonidas, for whom no action is recorded and who died shortly before the battle of Tanagra, in 459/8. M. PIÉRART, *Note sur l'alliance entre Athènes et Argos au cours de la première guerre du Péloponnèse*, *MH* 44 (1987), p. 176-177, has — on the basis of the latest findings on the Argive script and of an unedited inscription — proven the first editor of the *θιάσος* right: W. VOLLGRAFF, *Praxitèle le Jeune*, *BCH* 32 (1908), p. 236-258, associated the said Pleistarchos with the Macedonian of the fourth century, a brother of Kassander.

the other hand, had consolidated their newly obtained position of power over the Argolid and were henceforth back on a par with Sparta, after decades in the suffocating grip of the iron Lakedaimonian fist: small wonder they celebrated their victory so lavishly.

Now that we have dated (the conception of) the painting of Oinoe, and consequently the entire cycle of paintings, very soon after 462/1, and in any case after Kimon's ostracism, how can the fact that the pictures were commissioned by the new leaders be reconciled with the pro-Kimonian elements everyone reads in three of the four paintings?

Robert⁴⁶ and Hoelscher⁴⁷ link this with a tradition holding that after Kimon had been ostracised, he and his supporters dissociated themselves resolutely from the philolakonism they were reproached with: they apparently spared no pains to take the edge off this accusation⁴⁸. The painting of the battle of Oinoe may have served as similar proof of their political reliability: they supported the inclusion in the cycle of paintings of an anti-Spartan element, in keeping with the then prevailing mood in Athens. At the same time, however, they made sure that the other three themes (which were congenial to them!) were executed in such a way that they subtly had a Kimonian cachet, thus using the cycle as a means to present to the Athenian people the Philaids' merits in a glorified way and to prepare for Kimon's rehabilitation (at least one of the painters, Polygnotos, had been on their side for a long time). They may even have manipulated the Oinoe-painting. Pausanias says, in his description of the painting, that the battle was not depicted «at the height of the struggle nor when things have got to the displays of individual prowess, but at the beginning, and the men still in process of coming together» (I 15.1)⁴⁹. It mattered a great deal to Kimon's supporters to show their firm stand against Sparta, but that did not mean they had to have the Lakedaimonians depicted as losers: the two antagonists could just as well be shown before the event⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 9.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 76.

⁴⁸ This tradition has mainly come down to us in a few anecdotes preserved by Plutarch: *Kimon* 17 and *Perikles* 10; *Kimon* 13 (on which see, however, A.W. GOMME, *Historical Commentary on Thucydides* I, Oxford 1945 [=1950], p. 310 [on I 107.1] and p. 314 [on I 107.4]; also J.S. BOERSMA, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 57-58).

⁴⁹ Transl. Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 47.

⁵⁰ However, Hoelscher himself has offered an alternative explanation of this peculiar way of representation: it is wholly in keeping with the Severe Style, in that at the time artists did not simply depict events at their very climax, but also tried to represent the

This assertion makes some sense — after all, we will never be able to unravel completely the entangled threads of Athenian political life at the time — but it cannot be denied that it is somewhat hypothetical. I think there is a more straightforward solution to this problem.

Indeed, it should be stressed that the allegedly distinct pro-Kimonian features of the Stoa's decoration were not merely congenial to Kimon and his like, but can also be explained in a radically democratic context⁵¹.

As for the *Amazonomachy* (an exploit of Theseus), it will be shown further on how it was the mythical antetype of the Persian Wars; accordingly it was an acceptable subject for the heirs to Themistokles' policy.

Moreover, it is known that Theseus, from the fifth century onwards, became «the Athenian hero *par excellence* ... [he was transformed into] the national hero, the model of all high virtues, the achiever of the synoecism and of a 'democratised' monarchy, the protector of the people»⁵². To all appearances this tradition only came to full bloom — raising Theseus to the status of the symbol of Athenian democracy — in the second half of the fifth century⁵³, but I believe that the radical democrats may already have promoted it from the very beginning. E.D. Francis has remarked that «the evidence for this tradition can be most readily understood in the period immediately postdating Kimon's death, when new claims arise for the inheritance of Theseus' mantle and mythological revisionists once again set to work to rewrite history»⁵⁴. Could it be that those new claims arose not after Kimon's death, but already after he had fallen from grace and had been ostracised? It

psychological tension just before or after that climax (T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 69-70).

⁵¹ The choice of Polygnotos, one of Kimon's protégés, can be accounted for by the fact that the famous painter had become a fellow Athenian (Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* XXXV 59; Plutarch, *Kimon* 4; Harpokration, s.v. Πολύγνωτος = *AA* III, p. 37 no. 68) and by the fact that «the Trojan War and its heroes were clearly always a major preoccupation of the artist» (R.B. KEBRIC, *op. cit.* [n. 10], p. 35). Besides, Phidias — who is always mentioned in the same breath with the Parthenon frieze, the pre-eminent expression of Periklean ideals — is also known to have worked for Kimonian projects (R.B. KEBRIC, *ibid.*, p. 34).

⁵² Christiane SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *Theseus Lifting the Rock and a Cup near the Pithos Painter*, *JHS* 91 (1971), p. 97-100, esp. p. 98.

⁵³ See Nicole LORAUX, *L'invention d'Athènes. Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la «cité» classique* (*École des Hautes études en Sciences sociales. Centre de recherches historiques. Civilisations et sociétés*, 65), Paris 1981, p. 66.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 65.

seems plausible that the revisionists working for the radical democrats set to work immediately after their rise to power, and started to turn Theseus into a 'true' and truly Athenian democrat⁵⁵.

The case for the battle of Marathon seems to be stronger. Of course, «it was Miltiades' strategy that swayed his colleagues and ultimately won the day»⁵⁶. Moreover, it had been a land battle, fought by the Athenian citizens-hoplites. Accordingly this victory had, to the aristocrats, a surplus value (they could claim it as theirs alone), particularly in comparison with the one won at Salamis, for the latter was mainly an achievement of the Athenian fleet which was driven by the *thetes*, the lower classes, the rabble. It is not hard to see the political implications of promoting Marathon: it fit perfectly in the campaign launched by the pro-Kimon movement against the radical democrats (i.e. those democrats that supported and were supported by the ναυτικὸς ὄχλος) to minimize the fleet's importance⁵⁷.

However, this is only half the truth, for the radical democrats likewise appear to have ignored the battle of Salamis in favour of the battle of Marathon: to name but one instance, it became (as we shall see in the following pages) an essential part of the eulogy on Athens, the *epitaphios logos*. Wes gives two explanations for this seemingly odd state of affairs⁵⁸.

Firstly, this shift towards the battle of Marathon (which took place in the course of the fifth century) can be seen to reflect the change in the relations between the former allies, particularly the deteriorated relationship between Sparta and Athens from the late 460s onwards. Since Sparta became the enemy, one can hardly expect the Athenians to have continued commemorating the battle of Plataiai — which was chiefly a

⁵⁵ J. BOARDMAN, *Herakles, Theseus and Amazons*, in *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens (Martin Robertson Festschrift)*, ed. by Donna C. KURTZ & B. SPARKES, Cambridge 1982, p. 1, has observed «how readily myth could be adjusted or invented in the service of state, family or politics. It is a factor in the development of Greek myth which is seriously underestimated by those who hope to find in it, as in the mythologies of other cultures, deep and primeval truths about man and his view of his place in the world» (*non vidi*, quoted by E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 65). The 'co-optation' of Theseus by the radical democrats might be reflected in the fact that, in the Marathon painting, Theseus was represented as rising out of the Marathonian soil: surely this was meant to stress the hero's autochthony (the Athenians claimed their king Aigeus as his mortal father).

⁵⁶ E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 87.

⁵⁷ M.A. WES, *Geschiedschrijving en legitimering: Herodotos en Athene, Theoretische Geschiedenis* 18 (1991), p. 26-29.

⁵⁸ M.A. WES, *art. cit.*, p. 29-31.

Lakedaimonian effort — as the crucial and decisive phase in the Persian Wars⁵⁹. As the battle of Marathon was an almost exclusively Athenian victory (with a little help from slaves and Plataians, a detail that in the course of time was left out completely), it was an ideal subject for elevation to the status of legend and an excellent counterpart to the Spartan triumph. Still, this does not entirely explain the depreciation of the battle of Salamis. This is most evident in the case of the Parthenon. We need not repeat here that it was part of Perikles' prestigious building programme and that it has gone down in history as «the triumphant trophy of a radical and imperialistic democracy that, due to its unrivalled armada, could make every Greek city on the islands and coast of the Aegean Sea dance attendance upon it, and willingly did so»⁶⁰. And yet, no sign whatsoever of a mythology built around the battle of Salamis can be traced.

In order to solve this, Wes recalls an observation of J. Boardman about the Parthenon frieze⁶¹. After a close examination of this famous piece of sculpture the English archaeologist labelled it the «apotheosis» of the myth surrounding the victory of Marathon. Of course the real subject of the frieze was the Panathenaic Procession. At the same time, however, the frieze was the ultimate recognition of the heroic, god-like fame bestowed upon those fallen on the plain and in the bay of Marathon. Indeed, in the frieze horsemen appear equipped as hoplites. This way of presentation was a well-considered choice, to make it abundantly clear that hoplites were raised to the status of heroes and were allowed entrance to Olympus, residence of the immortals. This might account for the presence of the plenary Olympic pantheon at the Panathenaic ceremony — a unique occasion only occurring when someone was raised to immortality or when a newcomer arrived on Olympus⁶². Several arguments can be adduced to substantiate a connection with the battle of Marathon, one being as ingenious as it is simple: the number of 'heroized' hoplites in the frieze (192) coincides

⁵⁹ M.A. WES, *art. cit.*, p. 24-25, shows that in the years immediately following the Persian Wars the battle of Plataiai got the highest ratings.

⁶⁰ M.A. WES, *art. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶¹ J. BOARDMAN, *The Parthenon Frieze: Another View*, in *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*, Hrsg. U. HÖCKMANN – A. KRUG, Mainz 1977, p. 39-49 (*non vidi*, see M.A. WES, *art. cit.*, p. 29-31).

⁶² At the same time it explains why the Olympians are not watching the solemn presentation of the newly embroidered *peplos*, but looking out for the arrival of the procession.

exactly with the number of hoplites Herodotos reports killed in the battle of Marathon (presumably on the basis of the names inscribed on the *Soros* set up on the Marathonian plain). Truly, this is a remarkable match, implying that the frieze had a second, hidden meaning.

Why now was the 'heroization' linked to the Panathenaics? The battle of Marathon took place in 490, also a year in which the Great Panathenaia were celebrated. Both the date of the battle itself and the sack of Eretria by the Persians are known to us, as well as the date of the Panathenaics. These three dates span such a small period of time that it is almost certain that the Persians were on their way to the eastern coast of Greece by the time of the preparations for the Panathenaics, and that the Athenians, when marching out to Marathon, still vividly remembered the festivities in honour of their *polias*. In view of the coincidence of these major events, it can be argued that Marathon came to be looked upon as the victory of the goddess Athena. Surely this allowed for a conscious manipulation of the battle by the radical democrats as well⁶³.

Now that we have also found an answer to this question, one glaring objection remains to the theory here proposed. An issue fraught with controversy is whether the Athenians, in the middle of the 5th century, could have celebrated a victory over Greeks in an immediately contemporary battle with a depiction of the actual fact. The generally accepted view is that this is «in itself an unexpected subject for a public monument in fifth-century Athens»⁶⁴.

It is common knowledge that in Greek art, historical incidents are virtually nonexistent until the 4th century. This applies to the art of painting, but the same goes for poetry and tragedy: of the period up to the end of the 5th century only three tragedies dealing with historical situations proper are known to us (Phrynichos' *Fall of Miletos* and *Phoenician Women* and Aischylos' *Persians*), and apparently not much changed in this respect afterwards.

We do know of three other paintings of real (as opposed to mythological) battles made before or in the middle of the 5th century, but Lilian Jeffery has shown that there is no real connection between the three and

⁶³ They did a very good job indeed, for «it still is very hard for us to reconstruct the course of the Persian Wars and the history of classical Greece without being misled by the Athenians' 'complexe de supériorité'» (Nicole LORAUX, «*Marathon*» ou l'*histoire idéologique*, in *REA* 75, 1973, p. 42, quoting P. LÉVÊQUE, *L'aventure grecque*, Paris 1964, p. 255).

⁶⁴ Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 50; A. ANDREWES, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 13-14; E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 87.

the Oinoe painting: none of them shows a contemporary battle of Greek against Greek; furthermore, they belong to eastern rather than Greek art and «deal (...) with the colourful barbarian, the remote in place if not in time»⁶⁵.

The case for the Oinoe painting is very much weakened by this: there has never been a long-standing tradition in making historical situations the subject of art, and if it did occur (be it in painting, tragedy or else), it was an exception to the rule. This led Jeffery to dismiss the battle of Oinoe as the 'real' subject of the painting; in turn she suggested it was commemorated «by some relevant tale of glory from the heroic past, such as would suit this particular occasion and harmonize with the other paintings in the Stoa»⁶⁶. Her argument is that the Greeks often had recourse to deeds from the past as pieces of propaganda for contemporary or recent enterprises⁶⁷.

Francis and Vickers share her conviction, but suggest that it is altogether arbitrary to rule out such a painting, simply because it lacks precedent⁶⁸. Hoelscher elaborates on this point⁶⁹. The uniqueness of the commemoration serves to him as proof of the fact that Pausanias' statement (that a contemporary battle between fellow Greeks was pictured) is true: all the so-called 'historical' pieces of art are not just exceptional and isolated examples within their medium, but also regarding their contents and theme. Indeed, all known paintings are without parallel: they stand as they are and simply cannot be compared to each other.

To enforce his argumentation Hoelscher refers to the public funerary orations declaimed annually in Athens: the great deeds of Athens were praised on that occasion. With the passing of time the catalogue of deeds was constantly altered and updated, and the orator always brought it to a close with the wars of the past year. This proves that the

⁶⁵ Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 50; it is striking that the three 'historical' tragedies fit this picture perfectly: they also show heroic Greek against remote barbarian or deal with the exotic, set in barbarian territory.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*; see also A. ANDREWES, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 13-14; I.H.M. HENDRIKS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 117 and 220 n. 114.

⁶⁷ In fact Jeffery is convinced that the Amazon and Troy pictures in the Stoa Poikile represented accomplishments of both present and past: *art. cit.*, p. 45-46. However, this has not gone unchallenged: see T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 71-73; R. MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 472.

⁶⁸ E.D. FRANCIS — M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 101.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 68-69.

Athenians did think about very recent historical events⁷⁰. We will return to this comparison with the *epitaphios* in the next part.

Putting together all the pieces gathered I simply cannot help but declaring myself in favour of Pausanias.

At this point I would like to raise a few objections to the most recent suggestion concerning 'the battle of Oinoe' made by E.D. Francis and M. Vickers⁷¹. On the one hand, they believe that a skirmish («not necessarily a full-scale battle») may have taken place at Argive Oinoe during the *Pentekontaetia* and that the three parties mentioned by Pausanias were involved (see n. 45 above). On the other hand, they cannot accept that it was the subject of one of the paintings in the Stoa Poikile (nor do they accept that the Argive dedication at Delphi commemorated it). They argue that the strategic preparation for battle and the arrival of the Plataian reinforcements on the eve of the battle of Marathon were depicted, Oinoe being also a hamlet of the *Tetrapolis*. Consequently, the paintings at both ends of the stoa belonged together, commemorating the battle of Marathon: «these paintings are arranged according to the typical argument of an epinician ode in which the victor and the occasion of his victory frame the central passage which typically celebrates his ancestors' triumphs or contemplates the significance of the victory from the standpoint of myth as *paideia*»⁷². Their arguments for such an interpretation of the first painting are, to say the least, rather dubious. To begin with, Pausanias would have misinterpreted the painting completely: instead of two phalanxes ready to engage in battle, the Athenian army was depicted greeting the Plataian troops. The scholars refer to V 18.6-8, where the Periegete, «in what may be a parallel situation», admits his uncertainty as to whether two groups of soldiers are about to attack or to greet each other. Moreover, since the Athenians were camped at the shrine of Herakles and the joining of the Plataians must have taken place there as well, Francis and Vickers freely postulate that «the precinct occupied a prominent and probably central position in the painting».⁷³ However, (a) in this

⁷⁰ R. MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 472, e.g. also accepts that the battle was actually painted.

⁷¹ The two scholars have treated the problem on four occasions: *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 99-113; *AC* 54 (1985), 105-115; *The Marathon Epigram in the Stoa Poikile, Mnemosyne* ser. IV, 38 (1985), p. 390-393; E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 85-98. For discussion of older alternative views, I refer to the secondary literature consulted for this research.

⁷² E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 89.

⁷³ *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 104.

instance Pausanias leaves not a shadow of a doubt: the battle is depicted at the moment the armies are in the process of joining battle; (b) the precinct of Herakles near Marathon is lacking from every single description of the paintings, without even so much as an allusion to it. A second consideration is that Pausanias would not only have been mistaken about the location of the action represented in the painting, but also as to its characters and its participants: the painting did not show Athenians and Lakedaimonians, but Athenians and Plataians. «Pausanias may have been decisively influenced by his judgement that the Argive bronze statue groups he noted during his 'hasty visit' to Delphi were dedicated to commemorate an Argive-Athenian victory at Oenoe so that, amidst memorials of the Archidamian War (i.e. the shields that were also part of the stoa's decoration), he thought of the painting of *Oenoe* in a Peloponnesian context»⁷⁴. I believe that if one takes such a consideration for granted, any further trust put in the Periegete is utterly wasted: he would erroneously have tied two commemorations in with a fact not only with which there was no connection whatsoever, but also that had passed out of the historiographical tradition! As he otherwise records no commemoration of Oinoe at all, what reason did he have left to believe such a battle did take place? Thirdly, Francis and Vickers regard Herodotos' description of the battle of Marathon (VI 108-117) as a testimonium of the painting in the Stoa Poikile: Herodotos is said to have based his account on it. What is more: «... the fact he has composed a narrative in which preparations for the battle (VI 108-111) and the battle itself (VI 112-117) are divided into two equal halves reflects the possibility he has taken not just one, but two paintings in account, namely the Oenoe and Marathon paintings»⁷⁵. Why then did Herodotos (or any other historian after him for that matter) omit both the place and its importance («the arrival of the Plataeans (by Oenoe) will have constituted the factor in the strategic preparations which, in the event, ensured success upon the field of battle»⁷⁶)? Besides, the arrival of the Plataians is also represented in the first part of the tripartite Marathon painting. A final objection is that, if the Oinoe painting had really been part of the 'Marathon', the paintings would not have been hung in the way Pausanias suggests: why on earth hang one-fourth on the one end of the stoa, and the

⁷⁴ *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 105.

⁷⁵ *AC* 54 (1985), p. 109.

⁷⁶ *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 103.

remaining three-fourths on the other? Is it not more reasonable to assume that in that case the Marathon painting had been a four-part composition, framed by the two mythological scenes?

Considering all this, I think my arguments for accepting Pausanias' description are more convincing than those provided by Francis and Vickers for dismissing it.

Paradoxically, the battle of Oinoe has left no trace in the historiographical tradition, whereas it was celebrated and commemorated lavishly and monumentally.

Pritchett has commented rightly and soberly that «we cannot expect Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon to have left us a complete record of all military engagements in the never-ending internecine warfare of Greek city-states»⁷⁷. Nevertheless, Thucydides' silence in particular has marked the research a great deal, and many scholars have cudgelled their brains about it: surely a battle fought by Spartans and Athenians and apparently important enough to be commemorated in the Stoa Poikile alongside, among others, the battle of Marathon could not be missing from his account of the *Pentekontaetia*⁷⁸? Still this problem is not unsurmountable. It is increasingly being acknowledged that Thucydides did not treat the *Pentekontaetia* in its own right, but only as part of the preliminaries to the great Peloponnesian War, his main theme. This makes him a very problematical source for reconstructing the history of the Fifty Years, because he worked critically on this period, leaving us a sketchy view — *his* view — of it⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ W.K. PRITCHETT, *op.cit.* (n. 29), p. 49-50.

⁷⁸ As a result, some scholars have squirmed to explain this 'awkward' silence: see M. BUONOCORE, *loc. cit.* (n. 27), p. 100-101, for a survey of all such efforts. The 'most desperate' solution was that worked out by H.E. STIER. In two papers (*op. cit.* [n. 28] and *Zur griechischen Geschichte. Die Schlacht bei "Oinoë"*, *WG* 2, 1936, p. 279-285) he went to great pains in order to get Thucydides «glänzend gerechtfertigt», but his view («by Oinoe Pausanias actually meant Oinophyta») was challenged from the very beginning and has rightly been discarded (W. JUDEICH, *HZ* 152, 1935, p. 301-307; F. KOEPP, *GGA* 197, 1935, p. 493-498; H. RUDOLPH, *Gnomon* 11, 1935, p. 382-384; Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60, 1965, p. 56 n. 59; R. MEIGGS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 470; M. BUONOCORE, *loc. cit.*, p. 119-122; E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80, 1985, p. 114); it has nevertheless recently been revived by J. BUSCHE, *Untersuchungen zur Oinoe-Schlacht des Pausanias (Studien zur Geschichte)*, Frankfurt a/Main 1974.

⁷⁹ This thesis is strongly advocated by J.H. SCHREINER: see *Anti-Thucydidean Studies in the Pentekontaetia*, *SO* 51 (1976), p. 19-63; *More Anti-Thucydidean Studies in the Pentekontaetia*, *SO* 52 (1977), p. 19-38; *Historical Methods, Hellanikos, and the Era of Kimon*, *OAth* 15 (1984), p. 163. See also R.A. MOYSEY, *Thucydides, Kimon and the Peace of Kallias*, *The Ancient History Bulletin* 5 (1991), p. 30-35.

More facts are known to be missing from it, and the battle of Oinoe may have been a 'victim' of Thukydides' selectivity as well⁸⁰.

In addition to this, the battle of Oinoe (like many, many more events) can easily have slipped out of the historiographical tradition for a further reason. As the battle really only took place in the sideways of Athenian history (it belonged to Argive history), and as the record of fifth-century Greek history that has come down to us is essentially that of Athenian history, it is no great surprise that Pausanias' two statements are the sole remnants.

3. THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE ATHENIAN COMMEMORATION

In the previous part we have been able to situate the painting of the battle of Oinoe in the scope of a campaign set up to promote the *συνμαχία* with Argos. We must not forget, however, that the panel was part of a compositional whole. We now must look for the underlying motives of the Athenian political leaders for the setting up of the entire cycle of paintings. This can provide us with information on the larger ideological context in which we are to set the battle of Oinoe.

In passing, reference has already been made to the *epitaphios*-tradition in Athens and, in that respect, it was noted that a possible link exists between the paintings and the stoa on the one hand and the

⁸⁰ In this respect I would like to draw attention to a theory recently proposed by R.A. MOYSEY in his contribution to the *Ancient History Bulletin* 5 (1991), p. 30-35. Moyssey argues that, as a result of his family ties to Kimon and Kallias, Thukydides was not so impartial and objective as some would like him to be (to prove the historian's kinship with Kimon Moyssey adopts a family tree proposed long ago by E. Cavaignac: Thukydides' maternal grandmother was one of Kimon's sisters). Moyssey's main argument is that Thukydides deliberately omitted the *Peace of Kallias* because the Athenians, after the defeat suffered in the Peloponnesian War, started looking for scapegoats who could be blamed for the demise of the Empire. As the younger generations of the family — including his own child(ren?) — might also be persecuted, Thukydides had good reason to be sensitive concerning his family's involvement in Athens' imperialistic excesses of the mid-fifth century which led to the disastrous war; therefore the issue of the peace treaty with Persia (which had removed the *raison d'être* for the Delian League and led to the establishment of the Athenian Empire) was better left unsaid.

Continuing this line of thought, Moyssey suggests that the fact that all references to Kimon are brief and limited to his military successes (his ostracism is passed over altogether) and that Perikles is portrayed in a surprisingly sympathetic way may have resulted from Thukydides' family ties to Kimon. Could it be that the battle of Oinoe — the first feat of arms of the new Argive-Athenian alliance and hence the first mark of the collapse of Kimon's policy towards Sparta — was omitted for the same reason?

epitaphios on the other⁸¹. This funerary speech, held annually at the end of the campaigning season, was, in common with the ἐπιτάφιος ἄγών, the culmination of the *patrios nomos*, the funerary ceremony held at Athens for those fallen from and brought back to their motherland⁸².

The usual structure of the *epitaphios* was threefold: a brief introduction, in which the speaker honoured τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, was followed by praise (ἔπαινος), lament (θρήνος) and consolation (παραμυθία). The ἔπαινος was the main part of the oration. After *laudes Atticae* and words of praise for Athenian democracy, the speaker turned to the ancestors, whom the deceased of the past year had joined. This appraisal took the form of an enumeration of all heroic achievements, from the mythic past up to the present day, and was the chief τόπος of the ἔπαινος.

A first striking feature of the ἔπαινος is that ἔργα παλαιά were clearly distinguished from ἔργα καινά, but that, at the same time, the speaker passed from mythological time (the subject of the ἔργα παλαιά) to the battle of Marathon without any transition. This distinction between mythological and historical achievements had practical grounds: the catalogue of deeds was also used in political propaganda (see below), and in that context the ἔργα καινά had greater value. The credibility and force of a claim were enforced by recent rather than by mythical exploits, for the latter dated from far-off days, and the valour displayed *in illo tempore* might in the meantime have disappeared.

Nevertheless, this version of Athenian history confirms that to many Greeks myth and history were not two totally different concepts, but continuous parts of one and the same (representation of the) past. It

⁸¹ Several scholars already have noticed that the cycle of paintings is in one way or another reminiscent of the *epitaphios*-tradition: Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 51-52; T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 73; E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 113; E.D. FRANCIS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 84-85 and 93-94.

⁸² On the *epitaphios logos*-tradition see e.g. F. JACOBY, *Patrios Nomos. State Burial in Athens and the Public Cemetery in the Kerameikos*, *JHS* 64 (1944), p. 37-66; G. KENNEDY, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece (A History of Rhetoric, 1)*, Princeton 1963, esp. p. 152-166; W. KIERDORF, *Erlebnis und Darstellung der Perserkriege (Hypomnemata: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben, 16)*, Göttingen 1966; R. STUPPERICH, *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*, diss. Münster 1977; Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* (n. 53); J.E. ZIOLKOWSKI, *Thucydides and the Tradition of Funeral Speeches at Athens*, New York 1981; C.W. CLAIRMONT, *Patrios Nomos. Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, 2 vols., Oxford 1983.

further cannot be denied that the time of the Peisistratids is ignored completely and that the Persian Wars are brought to the fore.

The mythological part proper can be (and was, already in ancient times⁸³) classified by subject in two groups. On the one hand, there are myths dealing with the theme of invading barbarians who, by the valiant performance of the Athenians all by themselves, are defeated and repelled (τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους: the wars waged against the Amazons and the Thracians for invading Attika); on the other, myths in which Athens comes to grips with other Greeks in support of fellow Greeks who are done ἀδικία and who seek help from Athens as ἡγεμών and προστάτης (ἵκετεῖαι: the burial at Eleusis of the Heroes killed during the siege of Thebes and the aid extended to the *Herakleidai* after they had been driven out of Argos).

It is noteworthy that always the same mythological heroic deeds are adduced: as far as we know their number never increased within the context of the *epitaphios*, whereas for instance in tragedy in the fifth century myths of similar tenor (particularly of the ἵκετεῖα-type) were added to the repertory. This is a fine example of the traditionalism that pervaded the entire *epitaphios*.

One modification is required in this respect. A mythical exploit conspicuous by its absence in preserved *epitaphioi* is the Trojan War. Of course it is not all that surprising to find the Trojan episode missing from the eulogy on Athens and its sons, for the Athenians play no part of importance in the *Iliad* and, what is more, other *poleis* could stake higher claims than Athens on the basis of the epic. However, in the famous speech the Athenians allegedly delivered before the battle of Plataiai (Hdt. IX 27), the traditional ἔργα παλαιά are concluded with the remark that the Athenians were inferior to none in the Trojan War. Now it is highly improbable that the non-Athenian Herodotos invented this list all by himself; presumably he learnt it while staying in Athens in the middle of the fifth century. This would mean that in the fifth century the Trojan epic still had its share in the catalogue, but that it had disappeared by the fourth century⁸⁴.

There are some more indications that the Athenians still took pride

⁸³ Cf. Isokrates IV 54sqq. (ἵκετεῖαι) and 66sqq. (τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους).

⁸⁴ Whenever it is mentioned in the fourth century at all, it is only presented as a setoff to much greater achievements accomplished much faster by the Athenians themselves (Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* [n. 53], p. 70).

in their participation in the Trojan War⁸⁵, the most striking of which being ... the painting in the Stoa Poikile, which we have now dated to the first years of the period of the radical democracy. It seems likely that in the beginning the Trojan War was still regarded as a glorious affair (after all, it was part of the Greeks' common heritage; possibly it was a relict of Athenian propaganda dating from the times before the Persian Wars), but in due time it was dropped as being unrewarding⁸⁶.

As we have already suggested, the *ἔργα καὶνὰ* served mainly propagandistic purposes. Therefore one did not have to stick to the truth, and one surely was not concerned with a factual description of historical events: the main thing was the use that could be made of these data, either to praise those killed on the battlefield or to characterise the Athenians' attitude and glorify their achievements. This is especially made clear by the fact that the efforts of the other Greeks during the Persian Wars were minimised or even omitted completely: a conscious and deliberate deformation of historical fact.

No individual Athenian was ever named or exalted in an *epitaphios*, no matter how brave he had conducted himself. Obviously the main concern was the collectivity of the Athenian state: it was presented and honoured as a single firm body⁸⁷. Unlike the standard mythical catalogue, the historical part was, with the passing of time, continuously altered and updated.

In addition to these first-hand characteristics, W. Kierdorf has come to some very important conclusions concerning the catalogue of deeds by drawing into the discussion a number of speeches delivered by the Athenians on various occasions⁸⁸, speeches in which the catalogue of deeds plays a conspicuous part and which are therefore closely related to the *epitaphios*.

⁸⁵ See on this W. KIERDORF, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 98 and n. 4; R. STUPPERICH, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 228.

⁸⁶ W. KIERDORF, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 98-99. R. STUPPERICH, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 49, also sees some possibility in this argumentation.

⁸⁷ The *epitaphios* delivered by Hypereides on the occasion of the Lamian war (322) differs in this respect (the leader of the dead soldiers, Leosthenes, is mentioned separately), but Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 52, thinks this is due to the fact that a number of vicissitudes were followed by an unexpected success at the time.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 95-110: Herodotos IX 27 (the Athenians speaking before the battle of Plataiai), Thucydides I 72-78 (an Athenian delegation addressing the Spartan Council) and VI 82-87 (during negotiations at the time of the expedition to Sicily), and still a few more (see *op. cit.*, p. 104).

Since glorious deeds, ancestral as well as mythological, apparently played an important part in the diplomatic and political relations between the Greek *poleis* in the 5th and 4th centuries and were a common topic in political discussions (and in political eloquence in general for that matter), Kierdorf challenges the view that all rhetorical pieces containing parts of the catalogue were indebted to the *epitaphios*, and conversely states that the fixed canon must have arisen out of the international political debates. The *epitaphios*, then, was also a product of Athenian propaganda, in fact the product in which that propaganda assumed its final shape.

Regarding the theme and purpose of the catalogue, the basic idea — in Kierdorf's view — was unequivocally apologetic: whenever the catalogue was put forward, it was because the Athenians felt cornered and obliged to defend themselves. Indeed, the orators always began by saying they were forced to defend themselves with the heroic deeds of the Athenians by the behaviour of their enemies. It was therefore mainly vis-à-vis the outside world that Athens felt the need to defend and justify itself, its attitude and position. However, because the catalogue did not only play an essential part in political debates, but also in the *epitaphioi*, the propaganda was twofold: it was aimed at the other Greek *poleis* as well as at the internal Athenian forum⁸⁹.

The most serious problem with regard to the *epitaphios logos* is the date of its constitution. Since Perikles, in his famous *epitaphios*, explicitly states that the custom was a later addition to the already existing state funeral ceremony, the date of the latter's institution would provide us with a firm *terminus post quem*. Unfortunately neither the date of its establishment nor of the putting into use of the δημόσιον σῆμα are known with certainty. Because the limits of the present study are restricted, we cannot elaborate on this point here. I am inclined to accept the arguments C.W. Clairmont provides for the late 470s or the early years of Kimon's rule as instauration date of the *patrios nomos*,

⁸⁹ This aspect is confirmed by a point provided by R. STUPPERICH concerning the person who delivered the *epitaphios logos* (*op.cit.* [n. 83], p. 33 and 52). The orator was appointed by the council. The first condition of eligibility mentioned by Thukydides («A man chosen by the state, who is regarded as best endowed with wisdom and is foremost in public esteem, delivers over [the dead] an appropriate eulogy» [II 34.6; transl. C.F. Smith]) was not prescribed by law, but observed by common consent. In practice, this probably came down to choosing the politician (or one of his supporters) that determined Athens' course. In that case that politician (who, at the same time, was one of the instigators of the military campaigns of that year) got the opportunity to justify his political line and to affect the situation of the day.

combining some information given by Pausanias, recent archaeological evidence and considerations concerning the political climate in which the *patrios nomos* was constituted⁹⁰.

Since our Athenian spokesman Thukydides does not give the name of the person who added the *epitaphios* to the *patrios nomos*, and as the other ancient evidence on this point⁹¹ is slender and not very helpful, we have to appeal to internal criteria in the preserved *epitaphioi* to obtain a more precise date⁹².

I know of only one recent comprehensive study of *all* aspects concerning the *epitaphios*⁹³, that by Nicole Loraux. She studies the general outlook and structure of the *epitaphios* as well as its distinct

⁹⁰ C.W. CLAIMONT, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 13-15, 124-125 nos. 15-16. As for the third point, it has already been acknowledged that the political climate must have been an important contributing factor to the institution of the *patrios nomos* (see F. JACOBY, *JHS* 64, 1944, p. 42-46). Clairmont endorses this view, and for that reason rules out the period of Kleisthenes' reforms: the change in the social structure cannot have happened drastically, no more than the adaptation to new customs and the abolition of very old traditions (the latter is most certainly true for the funerary cult, which man is always reluctant to alter). As Clairmont says (*op. cit.*, p. 15): «Only in an era during which the duty and liberty of the individual became the foremost interest of the State, and at the time when group solidarity and prosperity emerged from the strong emotional attachment of the individual to his family and clan, only such conditions can be said to form the suitable backdrop before which to place the ceremony of the *patrios nomos* as described by Thucydides». He thinks the *demos* was through with this preliminary stage by the end of the 470s. He also links the return of the True Bones of Theseus from Skyros to Athens by Kimon to the institution of the *patrios nomos*. No doubt Clairmont has made a move in the right direction. Still, the last word goes to Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 31: «Encore faudrait-il sans doute plus d'une découverte pour assigner définitivement au *nomos* sa date de naissance».

⁹¹ Diod. Sic. XI 33.3; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom* V 17.4; Plut., *Publicola* 9.7; schol. *Thuk.* II 35.1.

⁹² Of course we must not forget the dangers involved when we try to draw conclusions about the date of institution of the *epitaphios* tradition from the traditional uniformity of the *epitaphioi* that have come down to us (particularly since the oldest of those *epitaphioi* including a catalogue of deeds only dates from the beginning of the 4th century). Political and social priorities of the time may have influenced the appearance of earlier ones. However, the orators of the 4th century, far from innovating, contented themselves with repeating, and no doubt they faithfully reproduced certain parts that were very old and already stock property by the time of Perikles. Besides the orations of the Athenians in the works of Herodotos and Thukydides (see n. 88) give us an idea of the *epitaphioi* of the 5th century.

⁹³ W. KIERDORF, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 83-95, and R. STUPPERICH, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 226-234 and 238, have also concentrated on elements that can be deduced directly from the *epitaphioi*, but their method is inadequate: they selected only certain aspects of the *epitaphios* (Kierdorf the mythological part of the catalogue of deeds, Stupperich the same combined with the *laudes Atticae*), but completely ignored the structure of the *epitaphios*, as well as the other τόποι, as if they were not important.

parts⁹⁴. Her profound work has accordingly produced a new and innovative view: she does not claim to have come up with irrefutable proof, but nevertheless thinks that all points of consideration she has adduced come down to an «acceptable body of converging probabilities» that point to the period about 460 (in any event after Ephialtes' reforms) as offering the most favourable climate for the constitution of the *epitaphios*. This one can agree with, though the aforementioned *caveat* must of course be kept in mind⁹⁵.

Having clarified and determined the features and date of the catalogue of deeds and the *epitaphios*, we can return to the cycle of paintings in the Stoa Poikile. Some pages ago, we mentioned the possibility of a relation between the two.

It does not take a bright mind to notice immediately that the cycle of four paintings as described by Pausanias shows a remarkable resemblance to the catalogue of deeds: indeed we find here both a *παλαιὸν ἔργον* (the Amazonomachy) and a *καινὸν ἔργον* (the battle of Oinoe) as well as the counterpoint between the two, the battle of Marathon. A further corresponding feature is that mythological and historical facts are arranged alongside each other without any special transition or rigid division.

There is more. Taking a closer look at the pictures, we are reminded of a few of Loraux's arguments for her date of the *epitaphios*. What struck the French scholar first and foremost was the egalitarian character of the *epitaphios*, and indeed of the entire funerary ceremony: all Athenians were honoured and raised to heroic status as a body. Now whereas in the

⁹⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 53), esp. p. 56-75. Loraux too acknowledges the Persian Wars (the battle of Marathon to be more precise) as the counterpoint in the catalogue, but she warns against attaching too much importance to this when trying to determine the date of the institution. She thinks that if one looks for the indelible traces left by the Persian Wars and their aftermath in the *epitaphioi*, one is influenced too much by the way the *epitaphioi* have shaped Athenian history (as is, e.g., W. Kierdorf). The temporal arrangement of the catalogue has given way to one particular historical fact, which in turn would be a decisive argument for the date of the *epitaphios*: «tel est sans doute le poids de toute histoire officielle ...» (p. 61).

⁹⁵ How true this is is shown by the fact that Loraux connects the absence of the *Troika* from the catalogue to the repudiation of panhellenism by the heirs to Themistokles' policy, whereas in the early phase of radical democracy the Trojan epic apparently still occupied a place in the catalogue (see p. 117-118 and 124-125).

Clairmont's date for the *patrios nomos* and Loraux's findings on that of the *epitaphios* are in keeping with the ancient tradition that the latter was a later addition to the former: sometime in the 470s (probably the second half) the state burial was introduced, and about 460 the *epitaphios logos* was added to complete the ceremony. This interrelation between the two dates can be considered additional proof of their plausibility.

other pictures certain characters were clearly recognizable, no individual person was in the limelight in the Oinoe painting according to Pausanias' description. This is wholly in keeping with the spirit of the catalogue of deeds, in that the victory won in Oinoe is presented as a collective achievement of the citizens of Athens. Hoelscher reasons that this is precisely why the battle of Oinoe could actually have been painted: it did not «run counter to contemporary standards of σωφροσύνη»⁹⁶ because it was presented as an «anonymous» accomplishment of the entire *demos*⁹⁷.

Loraux has argued that within the context of the *epitaphios* the outlook of the myths can also be defined as the democratic version (or, better still, re-interpretation) of the national tradition: no individual Attic hero is named, let alone individually extolled⁹⁸. Obviously this was not yet the case with the paintings, for Pausanias mentions Theseus, among others, as conspicuously present in the decoration. Still, this can be reconciled with Loraux's argumentation that the said 'democratization' of all these great heroes was due not only to the egalitarian spirit that haunted the *epitaphios*, but also to the fact that they were regarded as typical aristocratic heroes. As we have now dated the paintings to the very early stage of the radical democracy, it may be assumed that those aristocratic heroes probably were not dumped right there and then: just like Kleisthenes' reforms needed some time to settle firmly in the Athenians' minds, so Ephialtes' reforms likewise required a preliminary stage, in which such heroes still enjoyed some grace⁹⁹. To paraphrase Loraux: «instaurée à la fin des années 460, la démocratie radicale devait encore se radicaliser»¹⁰⁰.

A second consideration of interest here is that the canon of mythological exploits fits the period ca. 460 perfectly: it clearly echoes the policy on two fronts (the enemies presented in the ἔργα παλαιά appear to be the mythological precursors of the actual enemies Athens came to grips with from 460 onwards, i.e. Sparta, Thebes and the Persians) and it reflects a time in which Athens resolutely refused to play the

⁹⁶ E.D. FRANCIS – M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 101.

⁹⁷ T. HOELSCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 69. I hope that now the tricky question of the true outlook of the painting of the battle of Oinoe can finally be laid to rest.

⁹⁸ Indeed, the exploits that in the old days were accomplished by the heroes of Athens (the repulsion of the Amazons by Theseus, the victory over the Thracians by Erechtheus) are, in the *epitaphioi* that have come down to us, on the record of the *demos*.

⁹⁹ See also above about Theseus' relation to the (radical) democrats (p. 107-108).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 56.

panhellenic card and in which it tried to justify its relation to (and conflicts with) the other Greek states. It will be remembered that we have already come to a similar conclusion with regard to the paintings (see p. 104 above).

Since we seem to be on firm ground to label the cycle of paintings as a catalogue, designed to glorify heroic deeds from the remote and more recent past, perhaps I may be allowed to take one further step. Indeed, I believe the Stoa Poikile can be regarded as the monumental counterpart to the *epitaphios*: on this point I can go along with Francis and Vickers, who see «the relevance of the Simonidean dictum τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν ... τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν»¹⁰¹.

In that case it is safe to assume — as has been done above — that the paintings indeed served propagandistic purposes: after the success at Oinoe the initiators of the newly chosen policy delivered, so to speak, an *epitaphios* in the Agora in order to justify the political line they had taken. They deliberately chose the Stoa Peisianakteios, because it was not just the Athenian people they wanted to address: they meant to present an account of Athens' new position and policy to all Greeks. Of course the place most suited for this was the stoa that was so prominently situated on the north side of the agora¹⁰².

We have seen that Loraux came to date the catalogue of deeds, and consequently the *epitaphios*, about 460. This happens to be exactly the same time the paintings were probably conceived and produced. It is tempting to connect the two: just like the Marathon painting is said to have contributed strongly to the fame and legendary character of the battle, I would like to present the entire cycle of paintings as the first major list of heroic deeds that through its popularity very soon led to the drafting of a standard list of past glories (with slight variations), of which Herodotos (IX 27) has left us the earliest literary example in the speech of the Athenians before the battle of Plataiai¹⁰³.

¹⁰¹ Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium* 3; see E.D. FRANCIS — M. VICKERS, *ABSA* 80 (1985), p. 113. However, I do not see it as «a manifesto of Cimonian Athens», but of Periklean Athens.

¹⁰² I have already stressed the importance of the setting for the effectiveness of propagandistic messages (p. 103). The fact that, of all places, the Stoa Peisianakteios (presumably «built as part of Kimon's grand design for the embellishment of Athens»: H.A. THOMPSON — R.E. WYCHERLEY, *AA* XIV, p. 90) was chosen to house the paintings only enforced the anti-Kimonian manifesto inherent in the cycle.

¹⁰³ Lilian H. JEFFERY, *ABSA* 60 (1965), p. 52, is therefore shown to be right.

It will be noted that the list of ἔργα παλαιά is incomplete in the Stoa Poikile: the ἱκετεῖαι-type of myths (those featuring the *Suppliant Herakleidai* and the *Seven against Thebes*) does not figure there. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the cycle of paintings was conceived very soon after the change of policy. The war with the Persians had lasted for ages, and the Athenians had, for long already, a mythical counterpart in mind, the battle of the Amazones, which is duly present in the Stoa Poikile. The conflicts with other Greek *poleis*, however, did not really start until about 460, as a result of which a mythological foundation for this second branch was not yet on hand. The new political leaders, for their part, must have been hard pressed to provide one, in order to justify their risky foreign policy. Could it be that, for the time being, the battle of Oinoë became the symbol for Greek affairs? It is acknowledged that politicians manipulated myths to serve their political ends (see above). Surely, then, they were not averse to using 'mere' historical facts as propaganda (compare the 'fate' of the battle of Marathon). In this respect the battle of Oinoë — an altogether minor engagement within the larger scheme of Athenian events but most effective to the new leaders — can, by artistic means, have been blown up out of all proportion, thus obtaining everlasting value on the same scale as mythological and legendary events. In the course of time the actual subject of the painting was replaced by the symbolical meaning. As a result the battle of Oinoë was eventually wrapped in the shroud of history.

As for the ἱκετεῖαι, the main point to Loraux is that Athens, in coming to the aid of the weak, was presented as their champion and as ally of the just. This implies that, whenever a Greek polis broke Greek law, Athens was allowed, indeed obliged, to intervene. Now because the aspect of the just war did not come across clearly in the 'Oinoë' painting, the scene from the Trojan epic in which the Greek leaders discuss the verdict on Ajax's rape of Cassandra and consequent outrage upon Athena may have been brought in: Ajax, not exactly a shining example of piety and εὐσέβεια was sentenced to an expiatory vow in order to be acquitted of his crime. In addition to the common meaning of a scene from the Trojan War (viz. a glorious affair), this can imply that Athens took it upon itself to keep an eye on the behaviour of the other Greek cities (whether they abided by divine law and order or

not). In this case the presence of the *Troika* in the cycle of paintings and in the catalogue of deeds in this early stage still makes sense¹⁰⁴.

Since, on the other hand, both the *Seven against Thebes* and the *Herakleidae* do figure in Herodotos' *Histories*, the addition (or replacement?) must have happened shortly afterwards. The period about 455, when Athenian power had reached its apex, seems to be just the right time. It might well be that Athens chose to justify its position and attitude by developing a defense around the myths of Adrastos and the *Herakleidae*, in which the enemies of the previous years, the Peloponnesians and the Thebans, prefigured¹⁰⁵. Since these myths were explicitly presented as ἱκετεῖαι — myths in which Athens acted as the champion of oppressed fellow Greeks — it was clear that these were just wars¹⁰⁶.

From our discussion we gather that at the time of the radical democracy, art was not just stimulated or practiced for its own sake, as a 'Herzensbedürfnis', but actually constituted an essential factor in the creation of ideology (see the catalogue of deeds, which became the customary historical narrative glorifying Athens' exploits in war) and in the making of propaganda (the paintings of the battles of Oinoe and Marathon were clear enough evidence of the political course followed since the late 460s). Apparently this was not restricted to one particular medium. The entire artistic milieu seems to have been tuned in to the new policy and brought in to provide useful material for the development of the new ideology: dating the battle of Oinoe in the year 461/0 and taking into account that it must have taken at least two years to finish the entire cycle¹⁰⁷, the paintings were ready for exhibition in the Stoa Poikile by 458 ... the year Aischylos' *Oresteia* was performed and awarded the prize in the *Dionysia*. This double magnificent homage to the alliance with the Argives in particular and to the political line pursued by the leaders of the day must have been a considerable boost to their morale¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. n. 42, where Hoelscher refers to a religious dimension in propaganda.

¹⁰⁵ In this way G. KENNEDY's observation (*op. cit.* [n. 83], p. 154; followed by Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* [n. 53], p. 226) that the catalogue of deeds and the *epitaphios* achieved their highly formulaic quality almost immediately is confirmed.

¹⁰⁶ This consideration might actually account for the presence of a painting representing the *Herakleidae* in the Stoa Poikile. However, I want to caution those getting too enthusiastic about this positive piece of evidence for such a picture: after all, the only *scholion* that mentions it is confused and doubtful (cf. n. 3).

¹⁰⁷ C. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 8 and H.E. STIER, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 11.

¹⁰⁸ For further proof of the political background and pro-democratic sentiments of Aischylos' tragedies, see e.g. Nicole LORAUX, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 63: to mention but one

I do not pretend to have come up with the definitive solution to the problem of the battle of Oinoe. Still, I hope to have demonstrated that artistic expressions from the 'Periklean Age' should not be approached exclusively within an aesthetic vacuum, but — with due reservation — can be used as testimony of the political climate in which they were produced¹⁰⁹.

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example, in the *Supplices* the constitutive elements of the word δημοκρατία are listed for the very first time (v. 601; 603-604: δήμου κρατοῦσα χεῖρ), and in the same play the idea of the people voting by majority is applauded.

As for a third medium of art that was engaged by the radical democracy, sculpture, one 'object' outweighs all the others, namely the Parthenon frieze: the political implications of that piece of art go without saying. This medium was incorporated in a fourth: indeed it has long been acknowledged that Perikles' building programme also served his political ends.

¹⁰⁹ I wish to thank Prof. G. Schepens and Prof. H. Verdin for many helpful suggestions with regard to this article. The views presented herein remain, of course, entirely my own.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATION OF THE ORIENTAL PART OF HIS EMPIRE An Overview of the Background, Trends and Results*

INTRODUCTION¹

Alexander's conquest took him from Greece to Egypt, then to Persia and eventually to India that he reached and started invading in early summer 327 or just after². None of these countries was unknown to the Greeks. Indeed, they had been told about Egypt and Persia for centuries, and had long-standing relationships with these two countries³. As for India and its close neighbours, they had heard about them at least since the end of the VIth – early Vth century B.C., ever since Scylax of Caryanda had been ordered by Darius I to explore the NW part of India⁴. His account of the journey, which has since then been

* Parts of this paper were read at the XVIIIth International Congress of History of Science, held in Hamburg–München (1-9 August 1989), on «Science and Political Order».

¹ The literature on Alexander the Great and his career has been and remains very abundant. Therefore the references mentioned hereafter are purposely limited. For an overview of the bibliography, see Nancy J. BURICH, *Alexander the Great. A Bibliography*, Kent 1970 (critical review); J. SEIBERT, *Alexander der Grosse (Erträge der Forschung, 10)*, Darmstadt 1972 (fundamental); Fr. SCHACHERMEYER, *Alexander der Grosse. Das Problem seiner Persönlichkeit und seines Wirkens*, Vienne 1973 (extensive *status quaestionis* with bibliography); P. GOUKOWSKI, *Alexandre et la conquête de l'Orient (336-323)*, in Éd. WILL and coll., *Le monde grec et l'Orient, II. Le IV^e siècle et l'époque hellénistique*, Paris 1975, p. 247-333; E. BADIAN, *Some Recent Interpretations of Alexander*, in O. REVERDIN (ed.), *Alexandre le Grand. Image et réalités. Sept exposés suivis de discussions. Vandœuvres — Genève, 25-30 août 1975 (Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, 22)*, Genève 1976, p. 279-303. Fr. CHAMOUX, *La civilisation hellénistique*, Paris 1981, p. 29-64 («Alexandre ou la monarchie universelle»: an overview).

² N.G.L. HAMMOND, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, Oxford 1986³, p. 627-632; *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman*, London 1981, p. 50-65.

³ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *History* (n. 2), p. 24-71, 176-179, 204-253; O. PICARD, *Les Grecs devant la menace perse*, Paris 1980; Éd. WILL, *Le monde grec et l'Orient, I. Le V^e siècle (510-403)*, Paris 1986³; cf. W.S. SMITH, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East. A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean and Western Asia*, New Haven — London 1965.

⁴ R. DREWS, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Washington 1973, p. 34-35. Cf. H.G. RAWLINSON, *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome*, Cambridge 1926² (repr. New York, Octagon Books, 1971), p. 16-18; O. SEEL, *Antike Entdeckungsfahrten. Zwei Reiseberichte. Reisebericht des karthagischen Suffeten Hanno. Der Fahrbericht des Nearchos aus Kreta, II. Versuch einer*

lost, was used by Herodotus⁵. Afterwards, Ctesias of Cnidos, the Greek physician of Artaxerxes, wrote a full treatise entitled *Indica* which provided the Greeks with a more extensive view. Although this book has also not survived, the extant remains still confirm that Ctesias had shown a great interest in the land itself, its inhabitants, flora, fauna and other resources⁶. However, Ctesias had never seen India for himself. He collected his information at the Persian court from — among others — Indian dignitaries visiting the Great King. Either because he misunderstood or distorted their testimonies for some reason, or because his informers were not precise or accurate enough, the validity of his report was rightly questioned more than once by the authors who consulted it⁷. Alexander's expedition opened the era of direct and more regular contacts between Greece and India⁸. Among other results of it, more extensive and reliable information was made available; at first through the accounts of the campaign written by Alexander's companions.

Deutung, Zurich 1961; J. FILLIOZAT, *La valeur des connaissances gréco-romaines sur l'Inde*, JS, avril-juin 1981, p. 97-135 (underlines the general, yet valuable contribution of the Greek and Latin accounts on India; see also below, n. 88); Monique MUND-DOPCHIE – Sylvie VANBAELEN, *L'Inde dans l'imaginaire grec*, LEC 57 (1989), p. 209-226 (very few references to the modern literature dealing with the ancient Greek and Latin testimonies on India).

⁵ D. FEHLING, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot*, Berlin–New York 1971, p. 49-56. On the lost account of Scylax's journey, see A. PERETTI, *Il Periplo di Scilace*, Pisa, 1979, repr. F. PRONTERA, *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, Rome–Bari 1983, p. 71-114.

⁶ Ctesias, *La Perse. L'Inde. Les sommaires de Photios*, ed. R. HENRY, Bruxelles 1947; cf. J.W. MCCRINDLE, *Ancient India as Described by Ktésias the Knidian. Being a Translation of the Abridgement of His "Indika" by Phôtios, and of the Fragments of that Work Preserved in Other Writers*, 1881 (repr. Amsterdam, Philo Press, 1973). In accordance with his purpose, R. DREWS, *Greek Accounts* (n. 4), p. 103-116, focuses on Ctesias' Persica only.

⁷ For instance, Aristotle, *H. A.* II 501 a25–b1 (about the «mantichoras»; see below n. 43); III 523 a26-27 and *G. A.* II 735 a2-5 (elephants); *H. A.* VIII 606 a7-9 (wild and domestic pig in India); Arrian, *Indica* 30; Lucian, *True History* 1.3; etc. On the main features of distortion in the ancient Greek accounts on India, see M. MUND-DOPCHIE – S. VANBAELEN, *L'Inde* (n. 4), p. 219-226.

⁸ M. CARY, *The Geographic Background of Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1949, p. 200-205; W.W. TARN, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge 1951²; A.K. NARAIN, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford 1957; *Alexander and India*, G&R 12 (1965), p. 155-165; G. WOODCOCK, *The Greeks in India*, London 1966; cf. F.L. HOLT, *Alexander the Great and Bactria. The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia (Mnemosyne, Suppl. 104)*, Leyde 1988.

BACKGROUND TO THE GREEK EXPLORATION OF INDIA

The major aims of Alexander's project were military and political⁹. In his thirst for conquest, as Arrian puts it¹⁰, he wanted to establish an empire by combining East and West that would be based on the equal association of Macedonians and Iranians for the purposes of administration and conquest, as well as on an army drawn from the warlike peoples he had subjugated¹¹. Having been prevented from reaching «the very end of India» by his mutinous army, he stopped his *anabasis* on the western bank of the Hyphasis (Bias) in the Punjab, turned down through the valley of Hydaspes (Jhelum), Acesines (Chenab) and Indus, and began his journey back to Babylon which he entered in 323 against — as is well known — the warnings of the Chaldaean priests¹². From 326 until his death, Alexander devoted himself primarily to the organization of the empire. Therefore, he developed the exploration of all the resources of the conquered countries and areas; this had already been undertaken during his voyage abroad in an effort to sustain the army's material needs¹³, but also to prepare the future. As he wanted to secure the sea-connection between India and the mouth of the Red Sea, he ordered Nearchus, the admiral of the fleet, to map out the route between the delta of the Indus and the Persian Gulf¹⁴, proving that his interest in exploring lands and seas was just as great as his will for power or his passion for conducting military campaigns. In that respect his interest, either innate or acquired, increased in his youth under Aristotle's influence¹⁵. Years later, even after the rupture of his relationship with his teacher¹⁶, he did not dismiss the lessons he had

⁹ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Alexander* (n. 2), p. 214-227, 257-264.

¹⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis* VII 15.3; compare VII 1.4; 19.6.

¹¹ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *History* (n. 2), p. 625-626, 635-637; *Alexander* (n. 2), p. 202-227.

¹² Arrian, *Anabasis* VII 16. 5. Cf. N.G.L. HAMMOND, *History* (n. 2), p. 638.

¹³ D.W. ENGELS, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1978; cf. P. HÖGEMANN, *Alexander der Grosse und Arabien*, München 1985, p. 120-143.

¹⁴ Arrian, *Indica* 20. 1 and 5. P. PÉDECH, *Historiens compagnons d'Alexandre. Callisthène - Onésicrite - Néarque - Ptolémée*, Paris 1984, p. 205-206.

¹⁵ R. FLACELIÈRE, (*Alexandre*) *Élève d'Aristote*, in *Alexandre le Grand*, Paris 1962, p. 40-50.

¹⁶ P. GOUKOWSKI, *Origines du mythe d'Alexandre. I. Les origines politiques (Annales de l'Est, 60)*, Nancy 1978, p. 49-55.

received on matters that were taught afterwards at the Lyceum¹⁷. From the beginning, he made it clear that his journey eastward would be as much for exploration as for conquest by asking a team of philosophers, scientists and physicians¹⁸ — notably Callisthenes, Aristotle's own nephew¹⁹, Anaximenes of Lampsachos²⁰, Anaxarchos of Abdera²¹ and his pupil Pyrrho²², etc. — to join the army. They and others were in charge of studying the distinctive features of the lands crossed or subjugated. From then on data on both physical and human geography, botany, zoology and ethnography of the remote countries reached by Alexander were included in most of the accounts composed by his close companions such as Onesicritus of Astypalaia, Aristobulus, Nearchus, Cleitarchus, etc.²³. None of their writings has been preserved apart from the quotations, excerpts and summaries included in works by later authors who could still read them in their entirety. This means that the available evidence consists only of a mere selection made by those historians and compilers in accordance with their own interests, purpose, prejudices, etc. In any attempt to overview the observations made during Alexander's expedition and their impact on the exploration of the world, it is necessary to keep in mind that the extant remains of his followers' accounts are likely to reflect only a limited and perhaps biased part of the original contents of their writings.

¹⁷ J. MOREAU, *Aristote et son école*, Paris 1962; cf. I. DÜRING, *Aristoteles. Darstellung und Interpretation seines Denkens*, Heidelberg 1966.

¹⁸ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Alexander* (n. 2), p. 29, 48; cf. C. SCHNEIDER, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* II, München 1969, p. 370, 378-380, 1064-1065.

¹⁹ H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II, München 1926, p. 191-199.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35-37.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 33-35.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

²³ L. PEARSON, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, Philadelphia 1960 (repr. Chico, Scholars Press, 1983); see also N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great. The So-called Vulgate Authors, Diodorus, Justin and Curtius*, Cambridge 1983; P. PÉDECH, *Historiens* (n. 14); A.B. BOSWORTH, *From Arrian to Alexander. Studies in Historical Interpretation*, Oxford 1988, p. 1-15 (updated overview of the Alexander's historians). Cf. M.A. LEVI, *Introduzione ad Alessandro Magno*, Milan 1977. In his Ph.D. (1979) on *Recherches sur Arrien, sa personnalité et ses écrits atticistes* (publication: Amsterdam 1988, vol. II, p. 439 [«Supplément bibliographique»]), H. TONNET stated that Pédech's chapters on Callisthenes, Onesicritus, etc., could replace the similar ones in *The Lost Histories* of Pearson. They cannot.

TRENDS

One of the main requirements of Alexander was to attain the best possible knowledge of the geography of the lands he had planned to subjugate²⁴. The exploration he commanded in order to improve communications between all the parts of the world known at his time therefore did not dismiss current inaccurate ideas on the general size of the earth, the distances between Europe, Asia and Libya (i.e. Africa), the size of the Indian subcontinent or of the Caspian sea, etc.²⁵. Still, his companions offered the first description of regions that had remained until then practically unknown in the West. As far as India is concerned, Arrian based his 8th book of the *Anabasis of Alexander* primarily on the accounts written after the expedition. His *Indica* continues to be one of the most reliable and complete sources in ancient Greek literature on the physical and human geography of India²⁶.

The extant remains of the accounts written by Alexander's companions also include a rather large body of original observations on indigenous trees and plants of India such as rice, cotton, banyan trees, etc.²⁷. Those descriptions gave prominence to subsequent research in the field, notably Theophrastus' *History of Plants* and *Causes of Plants*, as Bretzl showed some 80 years ago in a study which has not yet been surpassed or equalled²⁸.

Alexander's companions were also interested in Indian fauna. Yet before turning to the surviving fragments, the often quoted statement of Pliny the Elder merits brief reconsideration. It refers to Alexander's own interest in animals and the ambitious and generous program he

²⁴ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *History* (n. 2), p. 634-635; *Alexander* (n. 2), p. 187, 202-203, 235-236; P. PÉDECH, *Historiens* (n. 14), p. 127-155, 168-196, 390-404; M. MUND-DOPCHIE – S. VANBAELEN, *L'Inde* (n. 4), p. 211-212, 219-226.

²⁵ N.G.L. HAMMOND, *History* (n. 2), p. 629-630; M. MUND-DOPCHIE – S. VANBAELEN, *L'Inde* (n. 4), pp. 212-213.

²⁶ F.F. SCHWARZ, *Arrian's Indikè on India: Intention and Reality, East and West* 25 (1974), p. 181-200.

²⁷ Rice: Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F35 (= Strabo XV 1.18 [692C]); cotton tree and banyan trees: Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F22 (= Strabo XV 1.21); Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F36-37 (= Strabo XV 1.21); also Nearchus *FGrHist* 133 F6 (= Arr., *Ind.* 11.7); cf. L. PEARSON, *Lost Histories* (n. 23), p. 175.

²⁸ H. BRETZL, *Botanische Forschungen des Alexanderzuges*, Leipzig 1903 (repr. Hildesheim, G. Olms, forthcoming), p. 136-139 (cotton); 158-190 (banyan trees); 200-203 (rice).

would have established to fulfill his aim in that matter. According to the author of the *Historia naturalis*²⁹

Alexander was fired with the desire to know the natures of animals, and having delegated the pursuit of this study to Aristotle as a man of supreme eminence in every branch of science, he gave orders to some thousands of persons throughout the whole Asia and Greece, all those who made their living by hunting, fowling, and fishing and those who were in charge of warrens, herds, apiaries, fishponds and aviaries, to obey his instructions, so that he might not fail to be informed about any creature born anywhere.

Should this be confirmed, such a program would be identified as an exemplary collaboration between political power and scientific research on a scale rarely — if ever — reached in history. It must be recalled at least briefly that Pliny's view played an influential role on Werner Jäger's theory about the chronology of Aristotle's biological treatises³⁰. Indeed Jäger took Pliny's statement for granted and from there substantiated his idea that Aristotle had turned to zoology and biology only in his last years, after Alexander's expedition towards the East³¹. As a matter of fact, according to Lee's study of the place-names occurring in the biological treatises³², «Aristotle's natural history studies were carried on, or mainly carried on, in his middle age» as D'A.W. Thompson had already suggested in his prefatory note to the Oxford translation of *History of Animals* published in 1910³³. It is obvious, however, that Aristotle's books on animals were not written in one sitting. Additions were made as further research proceeded and brought in new evidence. In that respect, one would rather agree with the idea first expressed by Jäger³⁴, and echoed by Peek³⁵ and others³⁶,

²⁹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* VIII 44 (translation by H. RACKHAM, Loeb Classical Library, 1947).

³⁰ W. JAEGER, *Aristoteles. Grundlegung einer Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*, Berlin 1955², p. 347-365.

³¹ W. JAEGER, *Aristoteles* (n. 30), p. 352: «Es wird kaum zutreffen, daß die Tiergeschichte ohne die Forschungen des Alexanderzuges denkbar ist, wie man gelegentlich behauptet hat.»

³² H.D.P. LEE, *Place-Names and the Date of Aristotle's Biological Works*, CQ 42 (1948), p. 61-67.

³³ D.A.W. Thompson, *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English*, IV. *Historia animalium*, Oxford 1910, p. vii.

³⁴ W. JAEGER, *Aristoteles* (n. 30), p. 352: «Schon die Nachrichten über damals in Griechenland unbekannte Tieren wie die Elefanten und ihre Lebensweise setzen die Erfahrungen des indischen Feldzuges voraus, und an zahlreichen anderen Stellen ist und der Einfluß dieser enormen Erweiterung des griechischen Wissens gewiß noch verborgen.»

that some references — those about the elephants for instance — might have been received through Alexander's expedition. Nevertheless, nowhere in his biological treatises does Aristotle refer to first-hand informants about Indian animals. In fact, he even referred to and sometimes criticized former written sources such as Ctesias' *Indica*³⁷ even if — as has been shown by Byl³⁸ — he does not always identify him by name³⁹. So far Pliny's statement remains unconfirmed. It must be considered an idealized and legendary view of the collaboration between Aristotle and Alexander, which in fact can be refuted by looking at both the way their relationship evolved after Callisthenes was put to death⁴⁰ and the contents of the biological treatises as they have been transmitted.

What was known in Greece of Indian fauna before and after Alexander's expedition? Thanks to Herodotus⁴¹ and Ctesias⁴², the Greeks were already acquainted to some extent with such wild species as elephants, tigers⁴³, rhinoceroses, jackals, crocodiles; and with local breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and dogs⁴⁴; in addition to such creatures as the famous gold-digging ants which remain to be identified⁴⁵. Alexander's companions produced further details about the

³⁵ A.L. PECK, *Aristotle Historia Animalium*, I, London – Cambridge (Mass.) 1965, p. LIX.

³⁶ For instance, W. LAMEERE, *Au temps où Fr. Cumont s'interrogeait sur Aristote*, *AC* 18 (1949), p. 299. G.E.R. LLOYD, *The Development of Aristotle's Theory of the Classification of Animals*, *Phronesis* 6 (1961), p. 59-60.

³⁷ See n. 6-7 above.

³⁸ S. BYL, *Recherches sur les grands traités biologiques d'Aristote: sources écrites et préjugés*, Brussels [1975] 1980, p. 99-104.

³⁹ See Aristotle, *H.A.* II 499 b18-21 and *P.A.* III 663 a19-23 (rhinoceros); *H.A.* VIII, 597 b28-29 (parrot); IX 610 a19-25 (elephant). The book of P. BOLCHERT, *Aristoteles Erdkunde von Asien und Libyen (Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, 15), 1902, lists only the passages dealing with Libyan and Aethiopian fauna.

⁴⁰ See n. 16 above. Similar conclusion in J.S. ROMM, *Aristotle's Elephant and the Myth of Alexander's Scientific Passage*, *AJPh* 110 (1989), p. 566-575 (still unavailable when the present paper was written).

⁴¹ Herodotus I 192 (hunting dogs); III 97 (elephant tusks as tribute); IV 44 (crocodile); VII 86 and 106 (horses, cattle).

⁴² Ctesias *FGrHist* 688 F45d («martichoras»); g (hunting hare and fox); k (absence of wild and domestic pig); m (birds); q (wild donkeys); r (fish); 46 (dogs); 48 (elephants).

⁴³ Under the name *mantichoras* (man-eater), cf. n. 6-7 above. See G.J.M. BARTELINK, *Het fabeldier mantichoras of mantichoras*, *Hermeneus* 43 (1972), p. 169-174 and 225.

⁴⁴ Xenophon, *Cynegetica* 9.1.

⁴⁵ Herodotus III 102. Cf. R. HENNIG, *Herodots goldhütende Greifen und goldgrabende Ameisen. Ein Kapitel zur Klarstellung antiker Wirtschaftsgeographie*, *RhM* 22 (1930), p. 326-332; G. JENNISON, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, Manchester 1937, p. 190-193; E.S. MCCARTNEY, *The Gold-Digging Ants*, *CJ* 49 (1953), p. 234.

animals mentioned above⁴⁶. They also enlarged the list with animals that they either observed themselves or heard about. It must be kept in mind that the later authors do not always mention their sources by name. When they limit themselves to some general reference, such as «the historians» or «it is said that», there is no way to distinguish between the accounts of Alexander's companions and subsequent writings on India by e.g. Megasthenes who is also considered⁴⁷. Nevertheless, Nearchus, Onesicritus and the others listed, among mammals, lions and other wild cats⁴⁸, monkeys⁴⁹ and cetaceans including whales⁵⁰. They also emphasized the beauty of some Indian birds, especially parrots, peacocks, pheasants, etc.⁵¹. They called attention to the many Indian snakes⁵² and alluded to other reptiles such as lizards⁵³, gavials⁵⁴, giant marine turtles and sea snakes of the Indian ocean⁵⁵. Freshwater and sea fishes are also mentioned⁵⁶. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to extensively analyze the zoological contents of the ancient Greek evidence on the animals of India included in the extant fragments of the accounts composed by Alexander's followers. Yet before examining the historical circumstances of the first extensive enquiry about the fauna of that area by Western observers, the general character of the available records on the matter are to be outlined.

⁴⁶ Tiger's skin: Nearchus *FGrHist* 133 F7 (= Arr., *Ind.* 15.1); dogs: Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F40 (= pseudo-Plut., *Pro Nobilitate* 19.4 Dübner, *Plutarchi Fragmenta et Spuria*, Paris 1855, p. 77); etc.

⁴⁷ See n. 86 below.

⁴⁸ Strabo XV 1.69 (718C) who referred to his sources as to «the historians», i.e. Alexander's companions. See also Strabo XV 1.31 (700C) on fights between Indian dogs and lions; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XV 14; XVII 26.

⁴⁹ Cleitarchus 137 F19 (= Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVII 25). Cf. Arrian, *Ind.* 15.9 (obviously after Nearchus); also Strabo XV 1.29 (699C); Diod. Sic. XVII 90.1-3.

⁵⁰ Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F12 (= Strabo XV 1.15 [691C]). Cf. Quintus Curtius X 1.10-15. Also Pliny the Elder, *Hist. Anim.* XI 3.11; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVI 17.

⁵¹ Nearchus *FGrHist* 133 F9 (= Arr., *Ind.* 15.8-9); Cleitarchus *FGrHist* 137 F20 (= Strabo XV 1.69 [718C]). Also Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XIII 18; XVI 2-5; XVII 23. Cf. J. POLLARD, *Greek Birds in Life and Myth*, London 1977, p. 91-94, 137-138.

⁵² Nearchus, *FGrHist* 133 F10a (= Arr., *Ind.* 15.10-12) and b (= Strabo XV 1.45 [706C]); cf. Aristobulus, *FGrHist* 139 F38 (= Strabo XV 1.45 [706C]).

⁵³ Polycleitus *FGrHist* 128 F10 (= Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVI 41).

⁵⁴ Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F38 (= Strabo XV 1.45 [706C]); Nearchus, *FGrHist* 133 F10b (= Strabo XV 1.45 [706C]).

⁵⁵ Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVI 8 (sea snakes); XVI 17 (marine turtles).

⁵⁶ Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F38 (= Strabo XV 1.45 [707C]), 39 (= Strabo XVII 2.5 [824C]).

The overview of the animals of India that one can get from the extant remains may look rather limited when compared with reality⁵⁷. As it has been said previously⁵⁸, this is likely to be a result of the selection made by the later authors. Whatever the cause of the limitation of evidence, two kinds of animals are noticeably emphasized: snakes, whose number, size and venoms impressed the Greeks⁵⁹; and elephants, whose strength and abilities on the battlefield as well as in peaceful tasks were a source of amazement⁶⁰. As often happens in the early accounts of journeys to distant lands⁶¹, some of Alexander's companions did not refrain from exaggerating their statements about the animals they wanted to characterize. In that respect, Onesicritus of Astypalaia, «the arch-pilot of things that are incredible» as Strabo put it, who «surpassed all those followers of his [= Alexander] in the telling of prodigies»⁶², mentioned the hippopotamus as living in the Indus⁶³. He also declared that he saw some snakes 80 and 140 cubits in length, i.e. 18 and 35 meters long⁶⁴. As Brown observed⁶⁵, Onesicritus somehow examined the Indian fauna in relation to the Egyptian. Egypt indeed appears to have been the main reference considered by the Greeks when they reached India⁶⁶. In that implicit comparison, Onesicritus did not want India to be superseded in anything. Therefore he introduced some African species among the Indian animals in order to keep the balance in favour of India. Still, another of Alexander's

⁵⁷ E.P. GEE, *The Wild Life of India*, London 1964; S.H. PRATER, *The Book of Indian Animals*, Bombay s.d. On mammals, cf. G.B. CORBET, *The Mammals of the Palaearctic Region: a Taxonomic Review*, London – Ithaca 1978.

⁵⁸ See p. 000 above.

⁵⁹ See n. 52-55 above.

⁶⁰ References collected by H.H. SCULLARD, *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World*, London 1974, p. 32-63, 208-235.

⁶¹ For a first approach, see F. PRONTERA (ed.), *Introduzione*, p. IX-XXXI in *Geografia e geografi nel mondo antico. Guida storica e critica*, Roma – Bari 1983; cf. J. RAMIN, *Mythologie et géographie*, Paris 1979; M. MUND-DOPCHIE – S. VANBAELEN, *L'Inde* (n. 4), p. 222.

⁶² Strabo XV 1.28 (698C)

⁶³ Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F7 (= Strabo XV 1.13 [690C] and 1.45 [707C]).

⁶⁴ Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F16a (= Strabo XV 1.28 [698C]) and b (= Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVI 39).

⁶⁵ T.S. BROWN, *Onesicritus. A Study in Hellenistic Historiography*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1949, p. 124.

⁶⁶ Alexander himself was interested, among other things, in finding the origin of the Nile which was supposedly located in India. Indeed he thought that he had discovered the springs of the Nile and wrote about it to Olympias. See Arr., *Anabasis* VI 1.2-4.

companions, Aristobulus, who probably consulted Onesicritus' account as well as others, since he wrote his own when he was 84 years old⁶⁷, clearly refuted Onesicritus' statement about the hippopotamus⁶⁸. Furthermore, referring to his observations on snakes, he also criticized him and others who mentioned snakes of huge size⁶⁹. Even as isolated as they were at the time, such critics are not to be underestimated. They attest that a more objective approach was already at work in the description of far-off countries.

The main question to be raised now is why Alexander's companions paid particular attention to the animals of India. Generally speaking, foreign faunas seem to be an attractive subject for travellers coming from other countries⁷⁰. At all times, most of them are keen on describing or at least mentioning the unknown or rare species. Their aims in so doing are mainly practical when they point out species that are either potentially dangerous because of their size, ferocity, venom, etc., or useful thanks to the products and services they are likely to offer. Quite often, however, they simply want to inform their countrymen or readers about a matter, usually appealing to the curiosity of many of them as may be concluded from the success achieved by a first exhibition of exotic animals in antiquity⁷¹ as well as in modern times⁷². Thus all data on those animals seem to indicate a tendency consistently observed at least in the West. Yet in the case of the exploration commanded by Alexander and started along with the conquest, there is little doubt that his own interest in animals stimulated his companions' attention towards them, even if this interest was not as extensive as Pliny the Elder would have us believe⁷³. Indeed, most of Alexander's ancient biographers recall episodes that show how much he enjoyed watching and keeping animals. After breaking in the famous Bucephalus, he preferred him to any other horse⁷⁴ and he cared for him up

⁶⁷ L. PEARSON, *Lost Histories* (n. 23), p. 152-154; P. PÉDECH, *Historiens* (n. 23), p. 333.

⁶⁸ Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F38 (= Strabo XV 1.45 [707C]).

⁶⁹ Aristobulus *FGrHist* 139 F38 (= Strabo XV 1.45 [707C]).

⁷⁰ See e.g. in Greek literature: Herodotus II 66-76 (fauna of Egypt).

⁷¹ For example, in Athens, the first exhibition of peacocks: Antiphon fr. 2,2 (= Athen. IX 397C). Cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* V 21. J. POLLARD, *Birds* (n. 51), p. 91-92. Other examples in L. BODSON, *La faune paléarctique dans la tradition gréco-romaine*, *Anthropozoologica* 1 (1984), p. 29-32.

⁷² For instance, the giraffe offered to Charles X by Mohammed Ali in 1826. Cf. G. Dardauid, *Une girafe pour le roi*, s.l., Dumerchez-Naoum 1985.

⁷³ See n. 29 above.

⁷⁴ Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 6; 61.1-2 (referring to Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F20);

to the animal's death during the battle with Porus. Bucephalas was then 30 years old⁷⁵. He gave the name of Alexandria *Bucephalia* to one of the cities he founded after defeating the Indian king in order to pay a lasting tribute to the merits of his favourite horse⁷⁶. Dogs were also animals that Alexander, as a hunter, was most interested in. Therefore he appreciated the remarkable specimens of local breeds he was offered as tributes by such kings as Sopeithes⁷⁷. Again during his journey towards the East, Alexander confirmed his general interest in animals. He is said to have had a strong desire to see the two largest snakes kept by the Indian king Abisares⁷⁸. He also assented to the wishes of Indians who implored him not to permit anybody to attack a sacred snake of theirs⁷⁹. Both episodes are recounted by Onesicritus whose objectivity, as has been noted above⁸⁰, is rather questionable. However, although these are mere details when compared with Alexander's career, they fit in exactly with what is otherwise known about Alexander's attitude towards animals and are not to be simply dismissed⁸¹.

Alexander did not neglect the animals in his care: his horses, especially Bucephalas as pointed out above⁸², and his dog Peritas alike⁸³. In a similar way, when he reached India and saw peacocks for the first time in his life, he was so impressed by these birds that he wanted to prevent by law any attack on their life⁸⁴. Some of these stories, which are likely to have been at the origin of Pliny the Elder's statement⁸⁵, could of course be part of the Alexander legend. Even so, however, the

Arr., *Anabasis* V 19.6. Cf. A.R. ANDERSON, *Bucephalas and His Legend*, *AJPh* 51 (1930), p. 1-21.

⁷⁵ Strabo XV 1.29 (698C); Arr., *Anabasis*, V 14.4; 19.4-5 (discusses the circumstances of Bucephalas' death).

⁷⁶ Strabo XV 1.29 (698-699 C); Plut., *Life of Alexander*, 61.2 (cf. J.R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch, Alexander. A Commentary*, Oxford 1969, p. 168-170: comments and map); Arr., *Anabasis* V 19.4-5.

⁷⁷ Strabo XV 1.31 (700C); cf. Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* VIII 1.

⁷⁸ Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F16b (= Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XVI 39). See n. 64 above.

⁷⁹ Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* XV 21.

⁸⁰ See n. 62 above.

⁸¹ See F. JACOBY, *FGrHist* II D. *Kommentar*, Berlin 1930, p. 475, l. 30-31 on Onesicritus *FGrHist* 134 F16b: «Gibt mit Alexanders Wunsch eine nicht absolut unglaubliche Kleinigkeit mehr».

⁸² See n. 74-76 above.

⁸³ Plut., *Life of Alexander*, 61.3 (after Potamon of Mytilene, *FGrHist* 171 F1) quoting Sotion [unpublished by Jacoby].

⁸⁴ Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* V 21. J. POLLARD, *Birds* (n. 51), p. 93.

⁸⁵ See n. 29 above.

general trend is unquestionable. It shows in Alexander's nature a constant attention and thoughtfulness towards animals. Either inspired by the Macedonian conqueror's curiosity or caused by his eagerness for all that could bring him more prominence, including rare animals, it should not be neglected in the general appreciation of his character.

RESULTS

The accounts written by Alexander's followers about the Indian fauna were for centuries among the main sources of information on that subject. Completed or enlarged by Megasthenes' report on his mission to India, which was ordered by Seleucus I around 300 B.C.⁸⁶, they were extensively used afterwards either directly or indirectly until the end of antiquity⁸⁷ and from there transmitted to the Middle Ages when they were not always fully understood⁸⁸.

As short and limited as it was, Alexander's conquest of India brought long-lasting influences, in many respects, to politics, fine arts, religion, etc.⁸⁹. It also provided the West with the first opportunity to get a more extensive overview of a remote, and for that reason fascinating country.

Despite all that has been lost from the accounts devoted to the expedition, the extant remains still contain enough evidence — even if they are more often than not mere glimpses — to confirm that Alexander's campaign contributed to improving knowledge in the field of geography and natural sciences not just by chance nor occasionally, but purposely according to his own interests and aims. The impact of such a state of mind was going to have far-reaching consequences on the subsequent development of those disciplines themselves and of science as a whole.

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⁸⁶ Megasthenes' fragments were edited by E.A. SCHWANBECK, Bonn 1846 (repr. Amsterdam 1966). See A. ZAMBRINI, *Gli Indikà di Megastene*, *ASNP* Ser. 3, 12 (1982), p. 71-149.

⁸⁷ J. ANDRÉ - J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde vue de Rome. Textes latins de l'antiquité relatifs à l'Inde*, Paris 1986.

⁸⁸ J. LE GOFF, *L'Occident médiéval et l'Océan indien: un horizon onirique. Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident : 18 essais*, Paris 1977, p. 280-298.

⁸⁹ C.B. WELLES, *Alexander's Historical Achievements*, *G & R* 12 (1965), p. 216-228.

PHARAOH ALEXANDER: A SCHOLARLY MYTH*

Alexander and his victorious army moved against Egypt in the fall of 332 B.C. after a campaign that had included the brilliant triumph of Issus and the brutal sieges of Tyre and Gaza. The last Persian satrap of Egypt, Mazaces, however, surrendered his satrapy without a struggle. Shortly thereafter Alexander entered Memphis in triumph and sacrificed to Apis, the incarnation of Ptah in the form of a bull, and then, in the words of a recent biographer: «on 14 November 332, the young Macedonian was solemnly instated as Pharaoh. They placed the double crown on his head, and the crook and flail in his hands. He became simultaneously god and king, incarnation and son of Ra and Osiris; he was Horus the Golden One, the mighty prince, beloved of Amen, King of Upper and Lower Egypt»¹.

Despite the seeming precision of this and other modern accounts, the evidence for Alexander's coronation as Pharaoh at Memphis is surprisingly scant. Neither the 'official' tradition now represented by Arrian nor the surviving witnesses to the 'vulgate' tradition, Diodorus, Curtius Rufus and Justin, nor Plutarch contain any reference to Alexander's being crowned Pharaoh at Memphis despite their well-attested sensitivity to any sign of his possible sympathy for non-Macedonian ways and willingness to adapt to them. In fact, the only ancient source to mention the coronation is the Ps. Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* according to which «when he (*sc.* Alexander) arrived at the city of Memphis, the Egyptians enthroned him as king of Egypt on the throne of Hephaistos (i.e. Ptah)»². If scholars have accepted the evidence of the notoriously unreliable Ps. Callisthenes almost without demur³, despite the fact that Alexander's coronation as Pharaoh was virtually required by its thesis that Alexander was, in fact, not the son of Philip II but the miraculously conceived son of Nectanebo II, the last king of

* I would like to thank Professor A. Loprieno, Professor of Egyptology at the University of California at Los Angeles, for his advice during the preparation of this paper.

¹ Peter GREEN, *Alexander of Macedon*, Harmondsworth 1970, p. 269.

² Ps. Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance* 1.34; transl. Ken DOWDEN, in B.P. REARDON (ed.), *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, Berkeley 1989, p. 677-678.

³ The only recent doubter is E. BADIEN, *Alexander in Iran*, in *Cambridge History of Iran II*, Cambridge 1985, p. 433 n. 1.

an independent Egypt, returned to claim his heritage, it is because it has seemed to be supported by two considerations. First, Alexander's coronation seemed the logical conclusion to his supposed policy of liberation; and second, and more important, Alexander is accorded a proper Egyptian style royal titulary in contemporary Egyptian texts⁴. In actuality, neither argument is compelling. As to the first point, I have tried to show elsewhere that a review of all the evidence suggests that there was less substance to Alexander's pose as liberator of Egypt from Persian tyranny than is generally believed⁵. The situation with regard to the second point is more complicated.

Ultimately, it rests on the assumption that attestation of a royal titulary for a particular ruler implies that he has undergone a formal coronation since the bestowal of a titulary was the climax of the long and complex series of rituals that transformed a man into the god-king of Egypt⁶. Thus, in concluding his description of the king who will succeed the Greeks as ruler of Egypt, the third century B.C. Heracleopolitan author of the *Demotic Chronicle* explains the statement that «A titulary (is given) to me (in) the third month of Winter» as follows: «he will be revealed and he will appear in glory in the crown of gold in the third month of Winter; that means his acting as ruler in the third month of Winter»⁷. In fact, however, the expectation that a titulary implies a coronation is unjustified since the existence of titularies for uncrowned kings is well documented. Examples are Alexander the Great's immediate successors, Philip III and Alexander IV⁸, the first four Ptolemies⁹, and the Roman rulers of Egypt¹⁰. Equally clear is the reason for this phenomenon.

Egyptian theology held that the proper performance by the king or his deputies, the priests, of the multiplicity of rituals of Egyptian

⁴ Cf. e.g. Ulrich WILCKEN, *Alexander the Great* (transl. G.C. RICHARDS), New York 1931, p. 114; Robin Lane FOX, *Alexander the Great*, London 1973, p. 196; Attilio MASTROCINQUE, *Alessandro a Menfi*, in *Zu Alexander d.Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag*, Amsterdam 1987, vol. I, p. 290.

⁵ In a paper entitled *Alexander in Egypt: Continuity or Change*, forthcoming in vol. 8 of the series *Achaemenid History*.

⁶ For a summary of what is known of the royal coronation, see H.W. FAIRMAN, *The Kingship Rituals of Egypt*, in S.H. HOOKE (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, Oxford 1958, p. 74-104.

⁷ Transl. Janet JOHNSON, *The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement of a Theory of Kingship*, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 13 (1983), p. 65.

⁸ Jürgen VON BECKERATH, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Munich 1984, p. 117, 285-286.

⁹ J. VON BECKERATH, *op. cit.*, p. 118-119, 287-288.

religion was essential to the success of the gods' eternal struggle to maintain the precarious order of the world and prevent it from returning to the state of chaos from which it emerged at the moment of creation¹¹. Absent that contribution, in the words of a late witness to the Egyptian tradition, the anonymous author of the Hermetic *Asclepius*¹², «the gods will return from earth to heaven; Egypt will be forsaken, and the land which was once the home of religion will be left desolate, bereft of the presence of its deities»¹³. A break in the line of god kings that stretched back to the beginning of Egyptian history literally threatened Egypt's continued existence by making impossible the proper performance of the rituals on which its very existence depended and was, therefore, intolerable. To avoid such a catastrophe the priests would provide a ruler who had not been crowned with an appropriate titulary so that the rituals on which the survival of Egypt depended could continue to be performed. Such a fictitious coronation might even be memorialized for eternity on the walls of Egyptian temples as was done in the case of the uncrowned Ptolemy III whose titulary is shown being inscribed by the divine scribe Khonsu on the gate of the temple of Khonsu at Thebes that had been dedicated by the king¹⁴. A titulary, therefore, is evidence not of the coronation of a ruler of Egypt but of the acceptance of his rule by the priests. Two pieces of evidence strongly suggest that a similar interpretation should be adopted with regard to Alexander's titulary. The first is the appearance of Alexander's name written without the cartouche that normally encloses the name of an Egyptian king in a recently published demotic ostrakon from Memphis that is most probably to be dated shortly after Alexander's departure from Egypt in the spring of 331¹⁵. Second and more

¹⁰ For the titularies of the Roman emperors see Jean-Claude GRENIER, *Le protocole pharaonique des empereurs romains*, *RdÉ* 38 (1987), p. 81-104; ID., *Les titulatures des empereurs romains dans les documents en langue égyptienne* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 22), Brussels 1989.

¹¹ Marie-Ange BONHÊME – Annie FORGEAU, *Pharaon: les secrets du pouvoir*, Paris 1988, p. 110-117.

¹² Cf. Garth FOWDEN, *The Egyptian Hermes: a Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, Cambridge 1986, p. 38-44, for the Egyptian background of the *Asclepius*.

¹³ *Asclepius* 3.24b; transl. Walter SCOTT, *Hermetica* I, Oxford 1925, p. 341.

¹⁴ *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, New York 1988, p. 51 fig. 22. That this titulary is fictitious is indicated by its absence from the hieroglyphic and demotic texts of the Canopus decree which was passed by a general synod of Egyptian priests in 239 B.C. (cf. Karl Heinrich BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* V, Leipzig 1885, p. 857 for the text).

¹⁵ H.S. SMITH, *A Memphite Miscellany*, in *Pyramid Studies and other Essays presented*

important are the existence of serious irregularities in the form and content of Alexander's titulary that would have been impossible if he had been properly crowned¹⁶.

Since the Middle Kingdom a proper Egyptian royal titulary consisted of five names, each composed of a title and a name, arranged in a fixed order: Horus name, Two ladies name, Golden Horus name, *praenomen*, and *nomen*. Of these five, the first four, devised by the priests and conferred on the king at the time of his coronation and then proclaimed throughout Egypt by decree¹⁷, defined the new king's relationship to his kingship and the deities connected with it. The fifth was the king's personal name. Now enclosed in a cartouche and preceded by the title *s3 Re*, Son of Re, it expressed the idea, current since the late Old Kingdom, that the king was the son of the sun god Re who had magically taken on the form of his human father at the moment of his conception¹⁸. There is a well-attested titulary for Alexander that conforms to this model in all respects, except that it is in the abbreviated form typical of Late Period Egypt, namely, *Horus, mki Kmt; N-sw-bit, stp n Re, mri Imn; s3 Re, 3rksindrs*, that is, «the Horus, he who defends Egypt; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the chosen one of Re, the one beloved by Amon; the Son of Re, Alexander»¹⁹. Although the appearance of Amon in Alexander's *praenomen* is surprising in a titulary supposedly formulated in Memphis by the priests of Ptah prior to Alexander's visit to Siwah, especially in view of the almost total absence of the Theban god from royal titularies for almost three centuries²⁰, this titulary is clearly possible. Were this the whole story, then there would be no difficulty; but, of course, it is not. The problems are twofold. First, in addition to this form of Alexander's titulary there also exist alternative and more irregular titularies; and second, dated examples of his titulary indicate that use of the irregular titularies preceded the more normal form cited above.

to I.E.S. Edwards, ed. J. BAINES *et al.*, London 1989, p. 184-186. I discuss the date and implications of this document in the article cited in n. 5 above.

¹⁶ The evidence for Alexander's titulary is assembled in H. GAUTHIER, *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* IV, Cairo 1916, p. 199-203, and J. VON BECKERATH, *op. cit.*, p. 117, 285.

¹⁷ As was done for Cambyes by the priest of Neith at Sais, Udjahorresne (Miriam LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, Berkeley 1980, p. 36). Cf. K.M.T. ATKINSON, *The Legitimacy of Cambyes and Darius as Kings of Egypt*, *JAOS* 76 (1956), p. 167-177.

¹⁸ Cf. J. VON BECKERATH, *op. cit.*, p. 1-33.

¹⁹ So U. WILCKEN, *Alexander the Great*, p. 114.

²⁰ Between the end of the 25th dynasty in 654 B.C. and Alexander Amon appears only in the *praenomen* of Darius I (cf. J. VON BECKERATH, *op. cit.*, p. 113, 278).

Alternative forms exist for both Alexander's Horus name and his *praenomen*, the former being found also in the form *ḥḳnw*, «the one who offers», and *ḥḳnw tkn ḥ3s.wt*, «the ruler who attacks foreign countries»; and the latter in the form *3rksindrs* «Alexander». By itself, of course, the existence of indisputably crowned kings with multiple Horus names, such as Mentuhotpe II, the founder of the eleventh dynasty, who also, like Alexander, had three distinct Horus names, is well-documented, although it should be noted that in the first millennium B.C. examples are limited to rulers who are known not to have been crowned such as the eleventh-century B.C. priestly usurper Herihor, the twenty-fifth-dynasty conqueror of Egypt Piye,²¹ and Alexander's immediate successor Philip III. The situation is otherwise with regard to the *praenomen* or coronation name.

As has been recently pointed out by Marie-Ange Bonhême, possession of an «authentic coronation name or *praenomen*» was decisive in antiquity for validating the royal status of a ruler as is illustrated by the fact that the *praenomen* is often used alone in inscriptions to identify a king²². Equally important, there clearly were specific rules for the formation of *praenomina*. Specifically, reflecting the fact that the *praenomen* expressed the pre-eminence of the sun god Re and the king's relation to him, true *praenomina* since the ninth dynasty invariably included the circle and dot ideograph used to write the name of the sun god Re²³. Not surprisingly, examples of kings with multiple *praenomina* are much rarer than those with more than one Horus name. Besides Alexander, there are only three other examples, namely, the eighteenth-dynasty religious reformer Akhenaton and the nineteenth-dynasty king Siptah in the second millennium B.C. and in the first millennium B.C. again the Napatan king Piye. More importantly, all three, including Akhenaton even after his repudiation of all other gods in favor of his personal deity, Aten, still retained the ideograph representing the name of the sun god Re in all forms of their *praenomina*. No other example is known, however, of a king's personal name

²¹ Piye had, of course, been crowned at Napata but there is no evidence of his undergoing a second coronation in Egypt as is illustrated by the fact that he was not included in the king-lists consulted by Manetho (*FGrHist* 609 F2-3) which began the 25th dynasty with Shabako.

²² Marie-Ange BONHÊME, *Les noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la troisième période intermédiaire*, Cairo 1987, p. 1.

²³ Cf. Marie-Ange BONHÊME, *Herihor fut-il effectivement roi?*, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), p. 271, and *Noms royaux*, p. 2.

being used as his *praenomen* as was done in the case of Alexander, a fact that is all the more significant since the three dated examples of Alexander's titulary indicate that this was the original form of his *praenomen*. Thus, his *praenomen* in the form King of Upper and Lower Egypt Alexander appears both in an inventory of cult objects from Thebes dated to Alexander's second year²⁴ and in a graffito of year 3 from Luxor published by Daressy in 1893²⁵, while the more 'correct' form, *Setep n Re, Meri Imn*, «The one chosen of Re, the one beloved of Amon», first appears in a stele from Hermonthis commemorating an offering made to the Buchis bull in the name of Alexander in the king's fourth year²⁶. Taken together, the silence of the principal classical sources about a Memphite coronation, the variation in the form of Alexander's royal titularies, and the evidence that use of the most irregular forms of his titulary preceded the appearance of the more normal form, strongly suggest that no formal coronation of Alexander took place during his stay in Memphis in late 331 B.C.

The implications of these results for understanding the circumstances in which Macedonian rule was established in Egypt are significant. Far from proving that Alexander aggressively sought to attract the support of the Egyptian religious elite, the evidence provided by his titulary suggests that, as the Persians had done before him and the first Ptolemies would do after him, he limited his participation in Egyptian religious affairs to the minimum expected of a king, publicly offering sacrifices to the gods such as Apis, taking steps to protect the sanctity of temple precincts as is revealed by a recently published papyrus from Saqqarah²⁷, and authorizing the officials he left to govern Egypt in his absence to undertake a modest program of construction in Egyptian

²⁴ Alexandre VARILLE, *Inventaire d'objets cultuels d'un temple thébain de Maat*, BIFAO 41 (1942), p. 138 l. 13.

²⁵ Notes et remarques, in *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie* 4 (1893), p. 33 no. 54 l. 5.

²⁶ Sir Robert MOND – Oliver H. MYERS – H.W. FAIRMAN, *The Bucheum II, The Inscriptions*, London 1934, p. 3 no. 2, and III, *The Plates*, pl. 2. The transition to the use of the more correct form of Alexander's titulary is illustrated in the bark sanctuary dedicated in Alexander's name at Luxor where among the numerous examples of Alexander's titulary there is only one with the irregular form of his *praenomen* (cf. Mahmud ABD EL-RAZIQ, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Grossen im Tempel von Luxor*, Mainz 1984, p. 19).

²⁷ E.G. TURNER, *A Commander-in-Chief's Order from Saqqara*, JEA 60 (1974), p. 239-242.

temples²⁸. For their part the priests responded as they had done before in the case of other foreign rulers who similarly respected the essentials of Egyptian religion by accepting Alexander as the *de facto* ruler of Egypt and creating a fictitious titulary for him so as to maintain intact the succession of god kings of Egypt essential to cosmic survival. The fact that examples exist of Alexander's personal name written with the foreign country determinative suggests, however, that at the same time that they accepted the fact of Alexander's rule, the priests maintained a certain reserve toward their new Macedonian monarch²⁹. On the other hand, recognition that Alexander was not crowned Pharaoh in 332 B.C. has important implications for our understanding of Alexander himself since it suggests that, contrary to the view maintained by Ulrich Wilcken and others³⁰, the greeting of Alexander at Siwah by the priest of Amon as Son of Zeus was not merely the formal welcome normally accorded a visiting Pharaoh and already familiar to the king from his coronation at Memphis, but a genuine surprise which must have, as the ancient sources indicate, greatly impressed Alexander precisely because he had not previously experienced it.

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²⁸ For a recent survey of building activity in the name of Alexander and his immediate successors see Philippe MARTINEZ, *Réflexions sur la politique architecturale et religieuse des premiers souverains lagides*, *Bulletin de la Société Égyptologique* 13 (1989), p. 107-116.

²⁹ Marie-Ange BONHÊME – Annie FORGEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Professor H.S. Smith informs me that demotic examples of Alexander's name written with the foreign country determinative have been found at Saqqara.

³⁰ U. WILCKEN, *Alexander the Great*, p. 126-138; H.W. PARKE, *The Oracles of Zeus*, Cambridge 1967, p. 224; J.R. HAMILTON, *Alexander the Great*, Pittsburgh 1973, p. 76.

MILITÄROPERATIONEN VON PTOLEMAIOS I. UND SELEUKOS I. IN SYRIEN IN DEN JAHREN 312-311 V.CHR. (II)*

Die im ersten Teil dieser Studie aufgegriffene Interpretation der Quellen führte zu einer Reihe neuer Feststellungen¹. Der Feldzug des Ptolemaios nach Syrien und der des Seleukos nach Babylon waren ein gemeinsam geplantes Unternehmen beider Feldherren. Nach der gewonnenen Schlacht bei Gaza im Spätherbst 312 v.Chr. besetzte Ptolemaios Südsyrien und belegte es mit seinen Garnisonen. Den Winter 312/311 verbrachte er wahrscheinlich zusammen mit Seleukos bei Vorbereitungen zu der Expedition nach Babylon. Nach dem Erscheinen des Demetrios in Obersyrien im Frühjahr 311 sandte er seinen Strategen Killes mit größeren Streitkräften gegen ihn und zog selbst in Richtung von Petra. Die Niederlage von Killes und die Gefahr einer neuen Invasion von Demetrios verursachten eine antiptolemäische Einstellung unter den Bewohnern des von Ptolemaios besetzten Teiles von Syrien, die wohl gewisse Aktionen gegen die ägyptischen Garnisonen unternahmen. Soter kehrte sofort nach Norden zurück, griff zu Repressalien gegen die revoltierenden Städte, zerstörte diese Städte und entführte jede nur mögliche Beute. Er stellte seine Herrschaft wieder her, aber die Ankunft des Antigonos an der Spitze überragender Streitkräfte zwang ihn, Syrien zu räumen. Unten werden weitere Einzelheiten seiner Tätigkeit in Syrien im Jahre 311 erörtert.

5. BERICHT DES JOSEPHUS ÜBER EROBERUNG PALÄSTINAS DURCH PTOLEMAIOS²

Gewisse Angaben über die Eroberung Syriens durch Ptolemaios finden wir auch bei Josephus in seinen *Antiquitates Judaicae* (XII 3-9). Nach einer kurzen Einleitung: «But as these (Diadochoi) quarrelled and

* Zeitschrifttitel abgekürzt nach *L'Année Philologique*. Außerdem: BA (*Biblical Archaeologist*); BASOR (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*); BES (*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*); JSSEA (*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*); SAK (*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*).

¹ *AncSoc* 20 (1989), S. 55-92.

² Die hier benutzte Nummerierung der Abschnitte setzt die des ersten Teiles fort.

fought jealously with one another, each for his own kingdom, the result was that continual and prolonged wars arose, and the cities suffered through their struggles and lost many of their inhabitants, so that all of Syria at the hands of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus» (§3, Loeb), gibt er manche Einzelheiten über die Eroberung Palästinas an: Zu einer gewissen Zeit besetzte Ptolemaios Jerusalem, indem er zur List griff. Er beschritt nämlich die Stadt, indem er die Absicht zu opfern (ὡς θύσων) vortäuschte und den Sabbat benutzte, wenn die Juden aus religiösen Gründen keine Aktionen unternahmen. Auf diese Weise beherrschte er leicht die Stadt und führte ein strenges Regiment (καὶ πικρῶς ἄρχεν, §4) ein. Josephus nennt keine Einzelheiten darüber, indem er nur angibt, daß Soter danach zahlreiche Gefangene aus dem bergigen Judäa, dem Gebiet um Jerusalem, Samaria und Garizein entführte, nach Ägypten herbrachte und dort ansiedelte (κατόκισεν, §7). Später, als er die Vorzüge des jüdischen Volkes kennenlernte, bewaffnete er einen Teil von ihnen und siedelte sie in den Garnisonen (εἰς τὰ φρουρία) an. In Alexandrien setzte er sie mit den Makedonen gleich (§8). Josephus fügt noch hinzu (§9), daß zahlreiche Juden aus freiem Willen nach Ägypten zogen, indem sie durch die Attraktivität des Landes und die Vorzüge des Ptolemaios (τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων ... τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας) angezogen wurden.

Wenn die meisten in den früheren Abschnitten dieser Studie behandelten Ereignisse hauptsächlich aus Diodor bekannt sind, der sich in seinem Werk auf den Bericht eines Augenzeugen, nämlich Hieronymos von Kardia, stützte, so konnte Josephus, für den die Juden den Schwerpunkt seines Interesses bildeten, diese Quelle nicht gebrauchen, weil, wie er behauptet (*C. Apion.* I 214), Hieronymos den Juden kein einziges Stück seiner Arbeit widmete. Josephus griff also zu Hekataios von Abdera, der sich in der Umgebung von Ptolemaios I. befand und ein Werk über die Juden verfaßte³, und zu Agatharchides von Knidos, der unter Ptolemaios VI. Philometor lebte, eine Geschichte Asiens schrieb, indem er entsprechende, in der alexandrinischen Biblio-

³ *FGrHist* III 264. Es ist möglich, daß auch Hekataios ein Augenzeuge mancher Ereignisse war, die er in seinem Werk beschrieb. Man weiß, daß er durch Ägypten reiste, indem er Theben erreichte (Diodor I 46.8) und daß er an irgendeinem Feldzug (κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν) zum Roten Meer teilnahm (*C. Apion.* I 201). Das Werk von Hekataios entstand wahrscheinlich zwischen 320 und 315, oder spätestens 305 v.Chr. (F. JACOBY, *RE* VII, 1912, Sp. 2750-2752, und *FGrHist* IIIA, S. 63; O. MURRAY, *JEA* 56, 1970, S. 141-171; M. STERN – O. MURRAY, *JEA* 59, 1973, S. 159-168). Vgl. aber unten Anm. 6.

thek aufbewahrte Materialien benutzte⁴. Josephus paraphrasierte auch den sogenannten 'Aristeasbrief', der in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v.Chr. verfaßt wurde, dessen Autor sich jedoch als Zeitgenosse des Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos angab⁵. Nur das letzte dieser Werke ist erhalten geblieben. Sein Charakter ist aber hoch apologetisch, und die Wahrhaftigkeit seiner meisten Behauptungen ist fraglich. Zwei frühere Werke kennen wir nur fragmentarisch, und es ist unmöglich, sich einen genauen Begriff über ihren historischen Wert zu machen⁶. Die von Josephus angeführten Fragmente von Hekataios und Agatharchides sind sehr kurz, aus dem breiteren Kontext losgerissen, und viele Umstände der dort angegebenen Ereignisse sind unklar. Es bleibt auch unbekannt, woher Josephus seine Auskünfte schöpfte, die in anderen Werken nicht zu finden sind. In dieser Sachlage können wir aus seinem Bericht nur diese Tatsachen annehmen, deren Wahrhaftigkeit nicht anzutasten ist. Dafür soll man zuerst die einzelnen Auskünfte von Josephus einer kritischen Beurteilung unterziehen. Diese lassen sich sowohl inhaltlich als auch hinsichtlich der ausgenutzten Quellen in drei Teilen einteilen.

A

In § 4 war wohl Josephus der Annahme seiner Behauptungen nicht sicher, weil er sich auf das Zeugnis von Agatharchides über die Besetzung Jerusalems beruft und zusätzlich dessen Beschreibung anführt (§ 5-7). Dieses Zitat finden wir auch in *C. Apion.* 209-210 in erweiterter Form. Agatharchides verspottet die Juden, die sich anstatt von der

⁴ *FGrHist* I 86. E. SCHWARTZ, *RE* I (1894), Sp. 739-741; W. PEREMANS, *Historia* 16 (1967), S. 432-455; P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, Oxford 1972, S. 515-517, 539-551.

⁵ Im weiteren nach A. PELLETIER, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 89), Paris 1962, zitiert. Zu seinem Entstehungsdatum siehe *ibid.*, S. 57-58; O. MURRAY, *JThS* 18 (1967), S. 337-343; E. VAN 'T DACK, in: *Studia Hellenistica* 16 (1968), S. 263-278; B. BAR-KOCHVA, in: *Armées et fiscalité dans le monde antique* (*Colloques Nationaux du CNRS*, n° 936), Paris 1977, S. 169 Anm. 1.

⁶ Auf Grund des Inhalts der erhaltenen Fragmente unterscheiden manche Forscher den Originaltext von der späteren Fälschung. Die vermutete Fälschung sollte eine Reaktion auf den für Juden nicht ganz günstigen Text des 'echten' Hekataios (Diodor XL 3; *FGrHist* III 264 F6) gewesen sein. Den falschen Text sollte Josephus in *C. Apion.* benutzen. Diese Meinung beraubt das bei Josephus angeführte Fragment jedes historischen Wertes. Sie wurde aber nicht endgültig bewiesen. Es ist auch möglich, daß alle Hekataios-Texte Ende des 4. Jhs. v.Chr. entstanden. Vgl. F. JACOBY, *RE* VII (1912), Sp. 2765-2768; V. TCHERIKOVER, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, Philadelphia 1959, S. 426 Anm. 49; J.D. GAUGER, *JSJ* 13 (1982), S. 6-46.

Vernunft leiten zu lassen, den Kampf nicht unternehmen wollten, als Ptolemaios zu ihnen mit dem Heer kam (εἰσιόντος εἰς τὴν χώραν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως). Es fällt auf, daß im Text des Agatharchides die Nennung der vortäuschenden Absicht fehlt, in Jerusalem zu opfern. Von den zwei Umständen der Besetzung dieser Stadt ist nur der letztgenannte eine wirkliche List, die den Spott des Agatharchides wesentlich mildert. Es ist unbekannt, ob er darüber nichts wußte oder es zweckmäßig stillschweigend überging. Jedenfalls war diese Weise, die Stadt zu betreten, dem Soter bekannt, weil sie von Alexander 332 während der Belagerung von Tyros erfolglos angewandt wurde⁷. Benutzte Ptolemaios wirklich diese List in Jerusalem, dann kann das beweisen, daß er die Stadttore geschlossen fand.

Die Besetzung von Jerusalem, das weitere strenge Regiment und die Entführung der Bewohner der Umgebung der Stadt lassen vermuten, daß Jerusalem auch damals zerstört wurde. Diese Tatsache, von Josephus stillschweigend übergangen, ist nur aus einer Anmerkung Appians, *Syr.* 50 (252), bekannt.

B

Die Angaben in § 7-8 finden wir an drei Stellen des 'Aristeasbriefes', den Josephus in seiner Arbeit benutzte:

- I. Bericht des Aristeas (§ 12-14)
- II. Erlaß von Ptolemaios II. über die Freilassung der jüdischen Sklaven in Ägypten (§ 22-25)
- III. Brief des Ptolemaios II. an den jüdischen Erzpriester Eleazar hinsichtlich der Übersetzung der Bibel (§ 35-40)

Beginnen wir mit den von Aristeas zitierten Urkunden. Im Erlaß des Philadelphos (II) wird der Feldzug Soters nach Koilesyrien genannt (§ 22)⁸. Nach der Betretung des Gebiets der Juden gelangten seine Soldaten in den Besitz der jüdischen Sklaven (§ 22)⁹. Diese Menschen wurden gegen den Willen des Königs versklavt¹⁰, und dies geschah διὰ δὲ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν προπέτειαν, die auch für die Zerstörung des Landes verantwortlich war (§ 23).

⁷ Arrian, *Anab.* II 15.7; Curt. IV 2.10 (7); Diodor XVII 40.3; Justin XI 10.10-12.

⁸ Τῶν συνεστρατευομένων τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην τόπους.

⁹ Ἐπελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώραν ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο σωμάτων Ἰουδαϊκῶν.

¹⁰ Νομίζομεν γάρ καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν βούλησιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ἡχμαλωτεῦσθαι τούτους.

Aus dem Brief an Eleazar (III) erfahren wir, daß die Juden mit Ptolemaios als Gefangene nach Ägypten kamen und viele von ihnen in die Armee einverleibt wurden, wo sie einen hohen Sold erhielten (§ 36-37)¹¹. Als Soter die Treue derjenigen erkannte, die schon früher im Lande lebten, vertraute er ihnen die von ihm geschaffenen Garnisonen an. Ptolemaios II. ließ dagegen 100.000 jüdische Sklaven frei, indem er diejenige, die in der Blüte des Lebens waren, in seine Armee einverleibte¹².

Es ist unmöglich zu sagen, inwieweit diese Urkunden authentisch sind. Es fällt auf, daß sie eine Reihe unglaublicher Angaben enthalten. Wenn auch Aristee Kopien der originellen Urkunden vor Augen hatte, mußten sie die Wirklichkeit nicht völlig widerspiegeln. Es ist denkbar, daß sie die offizielle Fassung der Ereignisse enthalten, die Philadelphos annahm und verbreiten wollte. Die Diskrepanz der Angaben kann wohl mit dem unterschiedlichen Charakter der beiden Urkunden verbunden sein. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, daß manche Elemente dieser Texte echt sind¹³. Keinem von ihnen können wir aber eine größere Glaubwürdigkeit zuerkennen und seiner Version der Ereignisse folgen. Die Beurteilung der beiden Urkunden ist nur in Hinblick auf ihre Glaubwürdigkeit zu unternehmen.

Der im Erlaß des Philadelphos enthaltene Behauptung, daß die Entführung der Juden und die Plünderung des Landes gegen den Willen des Königs ausgeführt wurde, können wir keinen Glauben schenken. Diese würde das Heer Soters auf das Niveau einer Räuberbande herabsetzen, über die der König keine Macht ausübte. Man weiß aus Diodor (XIX 79.4-7), daß Ptolemaios im Sommer–Herbst 312 eine Pazifizierungsaktion in Zypern ausführte, indem er Marion zerstörte und dessen Einwohner nach Paphos entführte. Danach zog er nach Nordsyrien, wo er Posideion und Potamoi Karon eroberte und plünderte. Von dort aus brach er nach Kilikien auf, wo er Mallos eroberte, dessen Einwohner er als Sklaven verkaufte und die Umgebung plünderte. Im Frühjahr des nächsten Jahres führte er eine Pazifizierungsaktion in Koilesyrien durch, wo er einige Städte zerstörte und jede

¹¹ Συνηληλυθέναι τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αἰχμαλώτους, ἀφ' ὧν πλείονας εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν σύνταγμα κατεχώρισεν ἐπὶ μείζοσι μισθοφορίαις.

¹² Εἰς τε τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ταῖς ἡλικίαις τετάχαμεν.

¹³ V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 273-274, 496 Anm. 18; P. DUCREY, *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce antique des origines à la conquête romaine*, Paris 1968, S. 85 Anm. 4; B.-J. MÜLLER, *Ptolemäus II. Philadelphus als Gesetzgeber*, Köln 1968, S. 77-82; A. GARA, in: B. VIRGILIO (ed.), *Studi Ellenistici II*, Pisa 1987, S. 75-89.

mögliche Beute entführte. Alle oben genannten Aktionen wurden auf Befehl Soters und unter seiner Aufsicht ausgeführt.

Die Pazifizierungen waren also dem Soter nicht fremd, und es scheint, daß auch seine Operationen in Palästina einen ähnlichen Verlauf haben konnten. Es ist kaum möglich, daß die Soldaten willkürliche Aktionen in größerem Ausmaß unternehmen konnten. Es ist aber denkbar, daß ein kleiner Teil von ihnen während der Kämpfe in Palästina in den Besitz der Sklaven gelangten, die später nach Ägypten hereingebracht wurden. Ähnliche Fälle kennen wir aus der Zeit des zweiten syrischen Krieges¹⁴. Es ist aber unwahrscheinlich, daß alle jüdische Sklaven im Rahmen einer willkürlichen Aktion nach Ägypten gebracht wurden. Im besprochenen Erlaß verurteilt Ptolemaios II. die Versklavung der Juden, was in gewissem Sinne der Grund ihrer Freilassung war. Er wollte jedoch dieselbe Meinung über die Politik seines Vaters nicht äußern, was direkt dazu führen konnte, daß diese Aktion der Willkür seiner Soldaten zugeschrieben wurde.

Im Brief am Eleazar (III) liegt der Schwerpunkt auf dem Wohlwollen beider Ptolemäer gegenüber den Juden. Der erste führte zwar die Gefangenen nach Ägypten ein, verleihte aber die meisten von ihnen in die Armee ein, indem er ihnen einen hohen Sold auszahlte. Denjenigen, die schon früher in Ägypten lebten, vertraute er seine Garnisonen an. Der zweite ließ dagegen 100.000 jüdische Sklaven frei. Ein solcher Inhalt des Briefes wundert nicht, wenn wir bedenken, daß das Ziel dieses Briefes war, die Gunst von Eleazar zu gewinnen.

Aus dem Bericht des Aristeas (I) erfahren wir, daß die Judenentführung während der Invasion Soters in Koilesyrien stattfand, der gegenüber dessen Einwohnern Terror anwandte (§12)¹⁵. Einen Teil der Deportierten bildeten Umsiedler, einen anderen Gefangene (τοὺς μὲν μετόκιζεν, οὓς ἡχμαλώτιζε, §12). Die Bezeichnung scheint darauf hinzuweisen, daß alle zwangsläufig nach Ägypten gebracht wurden, daß aber ihr Status nicht gleich war. Die Zahl der deportierten Juden sollte 100.000 betragen, von denen 30.000 bewaffnet und in den ägyptischen

¹⁴ Vgl. meinen Aufsatz *Der Zweite Syrische Krieg im Lichte des demotischen Karnak-Ostrakons und der griechischen Papyri des Zenon-Archivs*, JJP 21 (1991), S. 87-104.

¹⁵ Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπελθὼν τὰ κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἅπαντα...φόβῳ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιούμενος. Es fällt auf, daß der offizielle Name dieser Provinz im Seleukidenreich nach ihrer Eroberung durch Antigonos III. gebraucht wurde. In dem weiter angeführten Erlaß des Philadelphos (§22) kommt jedoch der richtige ptolemäische Terminus vor. Vgl. E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* I², Nancy 1979, S. 82-83.

Garnisonen verteilt wurden (§13)¹⁶. Zum Heer wählte Ptolemaios nur diejenigen, die sich durch ihr junges Alter und ihr Kraft auszeichneten (§14)¹⁷. Der Rest wurde den Soldaten als Sklaven zur Verfügung gestellt. Die letzte Maßnahme ergab sich nach Aristeas nicht aus dem freien Willen Soters, sondern er wurde durch die Soldaten dazu gezwungen, die als Belohnung für ihre Teilnahme am Feldzug Sklaven forderten (§14)¹⁸.

Wie zu sehen ist, weicht der Bericht des Aristeas in manchen Details von den von ihm angeführten Urkunden ab. Die Auskunft, daß nicht alle Deportierten Gefangene waren, ist sonst unbekannt und nicht nachweisbar. Die andere dagegen, über die Überweisung eines Teiles der Gefangenen an die Soldaten als Sklaven, ist einigermaßen wahrscheinlich. Sie betrifft die Situation, wenn der Herrscher nach dem siegreichen Feldzug seine Soldaten belohnte¹⁹. Bei einer größeren Menge von Gefangenen konnte sie Soter für dieses Ziel gebrauchen.

Es fällt auf, daß sich die Zahl 100.000 im Bericht des Aristeas auf die von Soter nach Ägypten gebrachten Gefangenen bezieht, während sie im Brief an Eleazar die jüdischen, von Philadelphos freigelassenen Sklaven bezeichnet. Wir können zwar vermuten, daß nach der Einverleibung von 30.000 Gefangenen der Armee durch Soter die allgemeine Zahl der jüdischen Sklaven in Ägypten zur Zeit des Philadelphos durch die Bevölkerungszunahme und als Folge der Kämpfe in Palästina wieder die Grenze von 100.000 Menschen erreichte. Es ist aber nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die für das eine dieser Ereignisse in der Überlieferung gefestigte Zahl von 100.000 Menschen mechanisch auf das andere Ereignis übersetzt wurde, um z.B. zu zeigen, daß Philadelphos alle

¹⁶ Καθοπλίσας...εἰς τὴν χώραν κατώκισεν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις. Die Behauptung, daß die Festungen in Ägypten den Juden anvertraut wurden, finden wir auch in *C. Apion*. II 44. Es ist aber nicht sicher, wie man manchmal annimmt (z.B. Th. REINACH, in: *Flavius Josèphe, Contre Apion*, Paris 1930, S. 117), daß sie aus Hekataios stammt, auf den sich Josephus ein wenig früher beruft.

¹⁷ Ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἀρίστους ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντας καθώπλισε.

¹⁸ Ὡς κατακρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, δι' ἃς ἐπεποίηντο χρεῖας ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

¹⁹ Nach dem Raphiadekret, Z. 29 (griechischer Text A, Z. 20-22), verteilte Philopator 300.000 Goldstücke unter seine Soldaten, die an dem Feldzug des Jahres 217 teilnahmen. Nach 3 *Macc* 1.4, versprach Arsinoe vor der Raphiaschlacht zwei Minen Gold für jeden Soldaten. *SEG* VIII 269 gibt an, daß zwei Offiziere der beiden Ptolemäer, wahrscheinlich Philopator und Epiphanes, Goldkränze erhielten. Vgl. H.-J. THISSEN, *Studien zum Raphiadekret*, Meisenheim am Glan 1966, S. 65, und W. HUSS, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV.*, München 1976, S. 81-82, wo auch weitere Beispiele der Belohnung von Soldaten angegeben werden.

jüdischen Sklaven in Ägypten freiließ, was aus seinem Erlaß (II) zu verstehen ist. Die Zahl von 100.000 entführten Juden weckt Bedenken, weil wir über Angaben verfügen, daß sie übertrieben wurde²⁰. Auch die Zahl der 30.000 dem Heer einverleibten Gefangenen erregt Zweifel, weil dieselbe in ähnlichen Kontext und ähnlicher Formulierung im Brief des Demetrios I. an die Juden vorkommt, der in dem älteren — als der Aristeeasbrief — 1Macc 10.36-37 angeführte wird²¹. Zusammenfassend können wir die beiden Zahlen, ebenso wie die anderen von den alten Autoren überlieferten numerischen Angaben, als zweifelhaft beurteilen.

Aus den besprochenen Texten erfahren wir wenig über den Verlauf der Aktion von Ptolemaios. §12 des Aristeeasbriefes entspricht der Beschreibung des Josephus über die repressive Beschaffenheit der Aktion Soters. Es scheint sicher zu sein, daß dieser König die Juden nach Ägypten entführte. Ihre spätere Einverleibung der Armee sowie die Art und Weise ihrer Auswahl scheinen wahrscheinlich zu sein, weil wir ähnliche Beispiele aus der hellenistischen Epoche kennen²². Die Anwesenheit der jüdischen Soldaten im Ptolemäerheer im 3. Jh. v.Chr. bezeugen die Papyrusurkunden²³. Übrigens waren sie auch früher in den ägyptischen Garnisonen zur Zeit der Pharaonen und Perser anzutreffen²⁴. Die Zahl der letzteren war jedoch beschränkt, und es bleibt fraglich, ob unter den jüdischen Soldaten der Ptolemäerepoche Nachkommen der früheren Immigranten anzutreffen waren.

²⁰ Vgl. Bemerkungen von V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 273. Josephus, der gewöhnlich Aristeeas folgt, erhöht diese Zahl in *Ant.* XII 11 auf etwa 120.000 und in *Ant.* XII 24 bis auf über 110.000 Leute. Vgl. V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.*, S. 496 Anm. 18.

²¹ Vgl. E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ I* (rev. by C. VERMES and F. MILLAR), Edinburgh 1973, S. 179; B. BAR-KOCHVA, *o.c.* (Anm. 5), S. 169 Anm. 1.

²² Vgl. die Maßnahmen von Scipio Cornelius Aemilianus in Spanien im Jahre 151 (Polyb. X 17.11).

²³ Vgl. V. TCHERIKOVER, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum I*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1957, S. 11-15; A. KASHER, *First Jewish Military Units in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *JSJ* 9 (1978), S. 57-67.

²⁴ Herodot II 30, 112, 154; Aristeeas §13. Diese Zeugnisse werden durch die ägyptischen Quellen bestätigt. Vgl. z.B. Louvre-Stele A90 (Psammetichos II. [594-588]; J.H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt IV*, New York 1906 [repr. 1962], §990-995); *P. Berl. dem.* 13615 (Amasis [568-526]; W. ERICHSEN, *Klio* 34, 1942, S. 56-61; weitere Fragmente desselben Textes [*P. Berl.* 13606 A/B + 15824 A/B] fand K.-Th. ZAUZICH, *ZMDG Supplementa I*, 1969, S. 46-47. Vgl. auch ID., *Ägyptische Handschriften*, Teil 2, Wiesbaden 1971, S. 40). Die aramäischen Papyri aus Elephantine bezeugen die jüdische Garnison auf dieser Insel zur Perserzeit (B. PORTEN, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1968, S. 28-61). Vgl. auch die Bemerkungen von V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 12; E. DRIOTON – J. VANDIER, *L'Égypte. Des origines à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Paris 1975, S. 578-579.

Der Bericht des Josephus übergeht manche aus Aristeeas bekannten Einzelheiten stillschweigend; er gibt aber andere an, die dort nicht zu finden sind. Es bleibt unklar, ob dieses Schweigen als eine Abweisung der Tatsachen zu verstehen ist, die er auf Grund anderer Quellen als unecht beurteilte, oder ob es sich daraus ergibt, daß er gemäß dem allgemeineren Charakter seines Werkes manches Tatsachen nicht nennen wollte, weil er sie z.B. für weniger wichtig hielt. Josephus nennt einige Gebiete Palästinas, aus denen Soter Gefangene entführte; er informiert auch über die Einräumung der Bürgerrechte von Alexandrien den Juden. Beide Auskünfte sind sonst unbekannt. Sofern die erste glaubwürdig scheint, wird die zweite von den Forschern bezweifelt²⁵.

Aus den §7-8 des Josephus können wir die Entführung größerer Mengen von Juden aus Palästina und die spätere Einverleibung eines Teiles von ihnen der Armee als sicher annehmen²⁶. Diese Praxis ist auch sonst bekannt. Wir haben dagegen keine zusätzliche Auskunft für die Gebiete, aus denen die Juden deportiert wurden. Die Nennung mancher Gebiete aus dem gesamten von Juden bewohnten Territorium zeigt, daß die Aktion Soters nicht allgemein gegen dieses Volk gerichtet war, sondern aus uns unbekannten Gründen nur einen Teil von ihnen betraf. Erlauben es die Angaben von Josephus, darin Repressivhandlungen zu sehen, so müssen wir nach dem Grund dieser Aktion fragen. Es liegt hier die Vermutung nahe, daß die Maßnahmen Soters eine Reaktion auf irgendwelche gegen seine Herrschaft unternommenen Maßnahmen in den genannten Gebieten waren. Dies scheint wahrscheinlich, weil wir eine ähnliche Reaktion im Frühjahr 311 in gewissen Gebieten von Koilesyrien beobachten können²⁷.

C

§9 über den freiwilligen Zustrom der Juden nach Ägypten wird durch die Forscher mit dem Zitat aus Hekataios in *C. Apion*. I 186-187 verknüpft²⁸:

²⁵ Vgl. V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (Anm. 23), S. 4; ID., *o.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 321-329.

²⁶ Diese Ansicht stellt E.L. ABEL, *The Myth of Jewish Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt*, *REJ* 126 (1967), S. 253-258, in Frage, aber seine Argumente sind nicht überzeugend.

²⁷ Vgl. Abschnitt 4 (*AncSoc* 20, 1989).

²⁸ Z.B. P. DUCREY, *o.c.* (Anm. 13), S. 86; E.M. SMALLWOOD, in: L.A. THOMPSON – J. FERGUSON (ed.), *Africa in Classical Antiquity*, Ibadan 1969, S. 112.

«Hecataeus goes on to say that after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy became master of Syria, and many of the inhabitants, hearing of his kindness and humanity (ἡπιότης καὶ φιλάνθρωπία), desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm (συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἡβουλήθησαν). Among those he says was Ezechias, a chief priest of the Jews (ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων), a man of about sixty-six years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen ...» (Loeb).

Auf Grund des angeführten Fragments nimmt man an, daß die Bevölkerung Syriens, besonders die Juden mit Ezechias an der Spitze, zusammen mit Ptolemaios nach Ägypten gelangten²⁹. Diese Meinung weckt aber beachtliche Zweifel. Im Text selbst haben wir die Behauptung συναπαίρειν εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτῷ καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων ἡβουλήθησαν. Wenn wir sie wörtlich annehmen, so können wir verstehen, daß die Bewohner Syriens nach Ägypten nur gelangen *wollten*, möglicherweise ihre Absicht äußerten, mit Ptolemaios zu gehen. Allgemein bekannt ist die Anhänglichkeit der Juden an Jerusalem und seinen Tempel, und es scheint kaum möglich zu sein, daß ἡπιότης καὶ φιλάνθρωπία des Ptolemaios den Erzpriester Ezechias zum Verlassen von Jerusalem veranlassen konnten³⁰. Es ist hervorzuheben, daß Ezechias damals nach Hekataios 66 Jahre alt war und daß man in diesem Alter kaum nach einem unsicheren Glück im Ausland sucht. Man weiß zwar, daß Onias IV. im Jahre 164 v.Chr. Jerusalem verließ und mit seinen zahlreichen Anhängern nach Ägypten zog. Der Grund dafür war aber die komplizierte Lage in Palästina, und durch diese Flucht rettete er wohl sein Leben³¹. Die Beschreibungen von Hekataios und Diodor scheinen eine solche Situation im Jahre 312 auszuschließen. Dies legt die Vermutung nahe, daß die von Hekataios dargestellten Menschen mit Ptolemaios nicht nach Ägypten gelangten. Aus den früheren Teilen dieser

²⁹ Z.B. F.M. ABEL, *Histoire de la Palestine depuis la conquête d'Alexandre jusqu'à l'invasion arabe* I, Paris 1952, S. 31; V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 6), S. 56-57; S.K. EDDY, *The King is Dead. Studies in the Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism*, Lincoln 1961, S. 194; E. WILL – Cl. ORRIEUX, *Ioudaïsmos – Hellénismos. Essai sur le Judaïsme à l'époque hellénistique*, Nancy 1986, S. 70.

³⁰ Ein Erzpriester dieses Namens ist sonst unbekannt, was der Grund war, die Authentizität dieser Person zu bezweifeln. Der Name kommt aber auf einer in Beth Zur gefundenen Münze aus dieser Zeit vor. Vgl. die Bemerkungen von V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 6), S. 425-426 Anm. 46; M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I, Jerusalem 1976, S. 40; J.D. GAUGER, *JSJ* 13 (1982), S. 45-46; A. KASHER, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Tübingen 1985, S. 40-41.

³¹ Vgl. V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 6), S. 275-281; M. DELCOR, *RB* 75 (1968), S. 188-203.

Studie wissen wir, daß Soter nach der Gazaschlacht den nächsten Winter und das Frühjahr in Syrien verbrachte. Seine Repressivhandlungen gegenüber einigen syrischen Städten im Jahre 311 änderten sicherlich die Meinung der Bevölkerung über sein Wohlwollen. Wenn ein Teil der Bevölkerung sich jedoch Soter während seines Rückzuges freiwillig anschloß, so könnten es nur die wenigen gewesen sein, die sich soweit aktiv auf seiner Seite beteiligten, daß sie nach seinem Rückzug an Ort und Stelle keine gnädige Behandlung von Antigonos erwarten konnten. Eine solche Situation entspricht nicht der Beschreibung des Hekataios, weil er eine größere Menge von Menschen (πολλοὶ τῶν ἀθρώπων) nennt. Die oben besprochenen Umstände lassen uns glauben, daß das angeführte Fragment des Hekataios eine Migration nach Ägypten nicht betrifft. Eine gewisse Undeutlichkeit läßt sich dadurch erklären, daß Josephus ein kleines Fragment von Hekataios ohne Kontext anführte, der wohl einen breiteren Hintergrund der gesamten Situation darstellte.

Das Fragment sollte im Lichte der ähnlichen Ansichten beurteilt werden. Eine solche Meinung finden wir bei Diodor (XIX 86.3):

ἦν γὰρ ὁ δυνάστης οὗτος καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπικεικὴς καὶ συγγνωμονικός, ἔτι δ' εὐεργετικός. ὅπερ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἡὔξησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς φιλίας.

«For indeed, that prince was exceptionally gentle and forgiving and inclined towards deeds of kindness. It was this very thing that most increased his power and made many men desire to share his friendship» (Loeb).

Die Ähnlichkeit beider Ansichten veranlaßt uns, nach den Umständen ihrer Entstehung und nach der Wirklichkeit zu suchen, auf die sich beide beziehen können. Diodor bringt seine Meinung in der Beschreibung der Besetzung von Tyros durch Ptolemaios im Jahre 312 zum Ausdruck. Sie wurde nach der Besprechung der Geschichte des Phourarchos dieser Stadt, Andronikos von Olynthos, formuliert. Dieser schimpfte Ptolemaios aus und geriet bald danach in seine Hände. Ptolemaios rächte sich nicht an ihm, sondern behielt ihn am Hofe und verlieh ihm den Titel eines «Freundes». Als weiteres Beispiel seines Wohlwollens zu den Menschen nennt Diodor Seleukos, den Ptolemaios in Ägypten empfing, indem er mit ihm sein Wohlergehen teilte, später die Streitkräfte für die Expedition nach Babylonien lieferte und weitere Hilfe versprach. Mit diesen Bemerkungen über die Freundlichkeit des Soter schließt Diodor das Kapitel 86 über die Ereignisse in Asien und damit die Beschreibung der Kampagne des Jahres 312. Vielleicht sind

sie als Zusammenfassung der ganzen Kampagne zu verstehen. Einen ähnlichen Charakter scheint das von Josephus angeführte Fragment des Hekataios zu haben, das sich auch auf die Periode nach der Gazaschlacht bezieht.

Das Thema der Freundlichkeit Soters gegenüber den Menschen kommt bei Diodor öfters vor³². Es entsteht die Frage nach der Quelle und die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Auskünfte. Wir verfügen über keine sicheren Angaben darüber. Nimmt man allgemein an, daß Diodor in den Büchern XVIII-XX hauptsächlich aus Hieronymos von Kardia schöpft, so ist es kaum möglich anzunehmen, daß auch diese Auskünfte von ihm stammen, weil er immer auf der Gegenseite stand³³. Bekannt ist auch, daß Diodor aus anderen Werken schöpfte, u.a. aus Hekataios von Abdera und Agatharchides, die sicherlich proptolemäisch waren. Es besteht aber auch die Möglichkeit, daß manche Ansichten Diodor zu verdanken sind, der den Ptolemäern gegenüber freundlich gesinnt, gewisse, in den Quellen gefundene Angaben, günstig für Soter darstellen konnte, indem er mitunter vielleicht seinen eigenen Kommentar hinzufügte³⁴. Die Herkunft des günstigen Ansichten im Text des Diodor kann also nicht eindeutig festgestellt werden. Auf Grund der von ihm

³² XVIII 14.1, 28.5-6; XIX 85.3, 86.3-4. Vgl. Bemerkungen von J. SEIBERT, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios' I.*, München 1969, S. 64-69, 79, 82-83, 89. Es ist hervorzuheben, daß auch Seleukos in den literarischen Quellen sehr positiv dargestellt wurde. Er war immer freundlich gegenüber der einheimischen Bevölkerung von Babylonien, die ihn später günstig empfing (Diodor XIX 91.2.5; Appian, *Syr.* 54 [274]), was für seinen Erfolg in Babylon von Belang war. Vgl. L. SCHÖBER, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Babyloniens und der Oberen Satrapien von 323-303 v.Chr.*, Frankfurt/M.-Bern 1980, S. 95-96; A. MEHL, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich*, Lovanii 1986, S. 105-106. — Diodor (XIX 92.4) betont dagegen das beleidigende Benehmen von Antigonos gegenüber den Soldaten, die ihn infolge dessen leicht verließen.

³³ Vgl. J. SEIBERT, *Das Zeitalter der Diadochen*, Darmstadt 1983, S. 4.

³⁴ R.H. SIMPSON, *AJPh* 80 (1959), S. 376; J. HORNBLLOWER, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, Oxford 1981, S. 55-56, 63. Wenig dagegen haben mit dem positiven Bild des Ptolemaios bei Diodor die in der Satrapenstele, Z. 2-3 (siehe Abschnitt 6) angegebenen Epitheta zu tun, die irgendwelche Anspielungen an die wirklichen Errungenschaften des Königs enthalten können, deren Hauptziel es aber war, das ideale Bild eines Herrschers zu schaffen. Man findet sie als Einleitung der hieroglyphischen Stelen der Pharaonenzeit (z.B. die Naukratisstele – Nektanebo I. [380-362] – Übers. M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* III, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1980, S. 86-89) und der ptolemäischen Epoche (z.B. Pithom-Stele: *I. Kairo* 22183 – 265/264 – K. SETHE, *Urk.* II 20, S. 81-105; G. ROEDER, *Die ägyptische Götterwelt*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1959, S. 108-128; die Mendes-Stele: *I. Kairo* 22181 – nach 265/264 – K. SETHE, *Urk.* II 13, S. 28-54; G. ROEDER, *o.c.*, S. 168-188). Vgl. auch die Bemerkungen von W. OTTO, *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* (ABAW, 34.1), München 1928, S. 28; J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (Anm. 31), S. 89-90 Anm. 17.

angegebenen konkreten Tatsachen könnten wir vermuten, daß diese Ansichten nicht unbegründet waren. Die beschränkte Zahl solcher Beispiele ergibt sich wohl daraus, daß die Darstellung der ganzen Kampagne in Syrien bei Diodor sehr knapp ist. Es ist denkbar, daß Soter wirklich versuchte, mit seiner Freundlichkeit die Bevölkerung Koilesyriens für sich zu gewinnen.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß die von Hekataios beschriebene Situation einen Teil der Reaktion der Bevölkerung auf den Sieg Soters bei Gaza bildete. Die einzigen Quellen, die dieses Thema ein wenig beleuchten können, betreffen die Situation nach der Schlacht bei Raphia³⁵:

Polyb. V 86.8-11: «Each community endeavouring to anticipate its neighbours in going over to him and resuming its allegiance. Possibly all men at such times are more or less disposed to adapt themselves to the need of the hour, and the natives of these parts (Koilesyrien) are naturally more prone than others to bestow their affections at the bidding of circumstances. But at this juncture it was only to be expected they could act so, as their affection for the Egyptian kings was of no recent growth; for the people of Coele-Syria have always been more attached to that house than to the Seleucidae. So now there was no extravagance of adulation to which they did not proceed, honouring Ptolemy with crowns, sacrifices, altars dedicated to him and every distinction of the kind» (Loeb).

Das Raphiadekret (Z. 15-17): «Er (Ptolemaios IV.) durchzog die übrigen Orte, die in seinem Reiche waren. Er ging in die Tempel, die dort waren. Er machte Brandopfer und Trankopfer, indem alle Menschen, die in den Städten waren, ihn empfangen, indem ihr Herz froh war, indem sie ein Fest feierten, indem sie herauskamen ihm entgegen mit den Schreinen der Götter, in deren Herz die Macht ist, indem sie ein Brandopfer und ein Speiseopfer machten. Manche gaben ihm einen Goldkranz, indem sie verkündeten (versprachen), ihm eine Königsstatue aufzustellen und ihm einen Tempel zu bauen».

Beide angeführten Texten stimmen in großem Grade überein. Beide beziehen sich allgemein auf die Bewohner von Syrien und berücksichtigen nicht die Juden, für die manche der dort angegebenen Formen der Verehrung nicht akzeptabel waren. Im Text des Polybios finden wir einige Bemerkungen über gewisse Sympathien der Bewohner von Koilesyrien für die Ptolemäer, deren Entstehung lange vor der Raphia-

³⁵ Diese Fragmente wurden schon teilweise im Abschnitt 4 besprochen (*AncSoc* 20, 1989).

schlacht zu datieren sind. Sie betreffen jedoch die Friedenszeit und sind für uns belanglos³⁶.

Das angeführte Fragment des Polybios enthält aber vor allem und das Raphiadekret ausschließlich die Beschreibung der Situation in Koilesyrien, die als Folge der Raphiaschlacht entstanden ist. Es scheint sicher zu sein, daß der Sieg Soters über Demetrios bei Gaza eine ähnliche Situation in diesem Gebiet geschaffen hat. Diese Fragmente erlauben es, zusammen mit den in den früheren Teilen dieser Studie besprochenen Angaben Diodors, folgenden Verlauf der Ereignisse wiederherzustellen: Nach dem Sieg über Demetrios wurde Soter der Herr von Koilesyrien. Er zog mit seinem Heer nach Norden, um das Gebiet zu besetzen und die Städte mit seinen Garnisonen zu besetzen. Die Bevölkerung, die früher die Herrschaft von Antigonos und Demetrios akzeptierte, empfing ihn jetzt freudig in den Städten, durch die er ging, oder sandte an ihn besondere Delegationen, um ihm zu huldigen, die Freude über seinen Sieg zu äußern u.ä.³⁷. Es ist denkbar, daß, unter einer Menge von Wörtern, die gelegentlich gewechselt wurden, auch die Lust formuliert wurde, sich nach Ägypten zu begeben. Hekataios bezieht diese Lust auf das ganze Syrien (wobei er Koilesyrien meint) und in diesem Kontext gibt er an, daß dieses Gefühl auch der Erzpriester Ezechias teilte. Im Bericht Diodors finden wir keine Einzelheiten über die Marschroute Soters nach der Gazaschlacht. Wir können aber die Vermutung V. Tcherikovers annehmen³⁸, daß Ptolemaios die Küste entlang nach Norden zog, ohne Judäa zu besuchen. Ezechias mußte sich also entweder selbst zur Meeresküste begeben, oder eine besondere Delegation senden, um Soter seine Huldigung zu bezeugen³⁹.

³⁶ Die Frage nach der Einstellung der Bevölkerung Koilesyriens zu den Ptolemäern wurde wegen Mangel an Angaben nicht erforscht, und deren Beurteilung ist nicht eindeutig. In jedem einzelnen Fall muß man die Frage stellen, ob die proptolemäische oder proseleukidische Einstellung durch die obwaltende politische Situation erzwungen wurde. Vgl. V. TCHERIKOVER, *o.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 72, 74, 76-81, 187; S.K. EDDY, *o.c.* (Anm. 29), S. 200-201; D. MUSTI, *SCO* 15 (1966), S. 186-187; E. SCHÜRER, *o.c.* (Anm. 21), S. 151; E. WILL, *o.c.* (Anm. 15), S. 119; E. WILL – Cl. ORRIEUX, *o.c.* (Anm. 28), S. 97-105.

³⁷ Vgl. dem Empfang des Ptolemaios III. durch die Bevölkerung von Seleukeia und Antiocheia im Jahre 246 (*WChr* 1; *FGrHist* 160; *Pack*² 2206; T. VECCHI, *Vicchiana* n.s. 5, 1976, S. 121-127).

³⁸ *O.c.* (Anm. 6), S. 57.

³⁹ Eine analoge Situation beobachten wir im Jahre 150 in Syrien. Der Erzpriester Jonathan wurde damals nach Ptolemais gerufen. Unsicher seines Empfanges «begab er sich mit glänzendem Gefolge...und traf dort die beiden Könige (Alexander Balas und Ptolemaios IV.). Er brachte ihnen und ihren Freunden, Silber, Gold und viele Geschenke mit. So gewann er sie für sich» (*IMacc* 10.60; ähnlich Josephus, *Ant.* XIII 83). Während

In §9 gibt Josephus zwei Gründe der freiwilligen Emigration nach Ägypten an, die Vorzüge des Landes (ἀρετὴ τῶν τόπων) und das Wohlwollen des Ptolemaios (τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμία). Es scheint, daß er hier nicht an das oben besprochene Fragment des Hekataios anknüpft, wo zwar das Wohlwollen des Ptolemaios das Leitmotiv ist, aber dieses Fragment betrifft, wie zu sehen war, nicht die Migration. Die letztere erscheint in einem anderen Fragment dieses Autors, das Josephus in *C. Apion.* I 194 anführt. Weder die Vorzüge des Landes noch das Wohlwollen des Ptolemaios werden dort genannt, aber diese beiden Elemente mußten im Fall einer Migration eine grundlegende Rolle spielen. Hekataios nennt dort nämlich die Wanderung der Juden nach Ägypten und Phönikien nach dem Tode von Alexander dem Großen. Diese sollte διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν verursacht werden. Die benutzte Bezeichnung ist nicht klar, wir können uns aber gut verschiedene Situationen vorstellen, die das Leben in Südsyrien soweit erschwerten, daß seine Bewohner eine leichtere Existenz anderswo suchten. In den ägyptischen Quellen finden wir die wiederkehrenden Migrationen schon im 2. Jahrtausend⁴⁰. In der späteren Zeit beobachten wir eine Wanderung nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems von Nebukadnesar im Jahr 586. Jeremias (41.16-17, 42-44) nennt die Juden in Migdol, Tachpanches (Daphnae), Memphis und in Oberägypten (Patros). Diese Erscheinung bestand auch zur Zeit der Ptolemäer. Bekannt ist die

des Feldzugs des Ptolemaios VI. im Jahre 146 «kam Jonathan dem König in Jafo mit einem glänzenden Gefolge entgegen» (1*Macc* 11.6). Das letzte Ereignis wurde bei Josephus (*Ant.* XIII 105) folgendermaßen dargestellt: Ἰωνάθης δὲ εἰς Ἰόππην ἀπαντήσας Πτολεμαίῳ ξενίων τε λαμπρῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης. Auf Grund der Analogie aus dem Jahr 150 könnten wir erwarten, daß er auch diesmal zu Ptolemaios mit Geschenken gekommen ist.

⁴⁰ In den Quellen haben wir gewöhnlich mit fremden Personennamen zu tun, die die ausländische Herkunft ihrer Führer bezeugen. Es ist kaum möglich festzustellen, ob sie als Gefangene oder freiwillig nach Ägypten gekommen sind. Nur selten wird der Charakter der Migration angegeben. Vgl. z.B. den Bericht eines Beamten an der Ostgrenze Ägyptens zur Zeit von Seti II. (1210-1205): «We have finished letting the Bedouin tribes of Edom pass the Fortress of Mer-ne-Ptah..., which is in Tjeku to the pools of Per-Atum (Pithom)...., which are in Tjeku-nome in order to sustain them and to sustain their flocks» (*P. Anastasi VI* [P. BM 10245], Z. 51-58; Übers. R.A. CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954, S. 293. Siehe auch die neue Interpretation des Textes von H. GOEDICKE, *SAK* 14, 1987, S. 83-98). Vgl. J. ČERNÝ, *ArchOrient* 7 (1935), S. 384-389; S. SAUNERON – J. YOYOTTE, *REgypt* 7 (1950), S. 67-70; J.M.A. JANSSEN, *CE* 26 (1951), S. 50-62; G. POSENER, *Syria* 34 (1957), S. 145-163; W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1971, S. 342-369; G.A. GABALLA, *JEA* 59 (1973), S. 109-110; A.R. SCHULMAN, *CE* 61 (1986), S. 193-199.

Flucht des Onias IV. an der Spitze zahlreicher Anhänger im Jahre 164 und der Zustrom der Idumäer gegen Ende des 2. Jhs. v.Chr. Die letzteren nahmen ihre Zuflucht in Ägypten, indem sie wahrscheinlich vor der von Johann Hyrkanos unternommenen Judaisierung flohen. Die Papyri notieren ziemlich zahlreiche Syrer und Juden seit etwa 260 v.Chr. in Ägypten, wo sie als Winzer, Töpfer, Weber, Soldaten u.a. tätig waren. Im Niltal kommen auch Ortschaften vor, deren Namen die Herkunft ihrer Einwohner aus Syrien (z.B. Syron Kome, Samaria, Magdola u.a.) bezeugen⁴¹.

* * *

Erst im Lichte der obigen Ausführungen können wir den am Anfang dieses Abschnittes besprochenen Bericht des Josephus über die Eroberung Palästinas durch Ptolemaios richtig beurteilen. Es enthält eine allgemeine Einleitung über die Lage in Syrien zur Zeit von Ptolemaios I., die im großen und ganzen unseren Ansichten entspricht. Dann werden die Ereignisse in Palästina aufgezählt. Es ist anzunehmen, daß Soter damals Jerusalem eroberte und wahrscheinlich zerstörte. Die letzte Tatsache ist jedoch nur aus Appian bekannt. Dann entführte er zahlreiche Gefangene aus dem bergigen Judäa, dem Gebiet um Jerusalem, Samaria und Garizein. Mit dieser Aktion waren wohl die Plünderung und Zerstörung des Landes verbunden. Der Bericht läßt glauben, daß diese Maßnahmen einen repressiven Charakter hatten.

Sein Text enthält keine datierenden Elemente⁴². Soter überfiel mehrmals Koilesyrien, der Verlauf der einzelnen Feldzüge ist aber schlecht bekannt, so daß es unmöglich ist, eindeutig zu sagen, wann die hier besprochene Aktion stattfand. Die Beschreibung des Josephus selbst, die die Anwesenheit von Soter in Jerusalem nennt, scheint seinen Feldzug im Jahre 319 auszuschließen. Wir wissen doch aus Appian (Syr. 52 [264-265]), daß Ptolemaios damals zu Wasser nach Syrien zog

⁴¹ Die die Juden betreffenden Urkunden werden von V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 23) zusammengestellt. Die Syrer behandelt G. VIAGGI, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937), S. 29-51; die Idumäer F. ZUCKER, *Doppelinschrift spätptolemäischer Zeit aus der Garnison von Hermopolis Magna* (APAW 1937.6), S. 24; U. RAPAPORT, *RPh* 43 (1969), S. 73-82; D.J. THOMPSON-CRAWFORD, in: *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Pap.*, Napoli 1984, 1069-1075.

⁴² Dem besprochenen Fragment geht die Auskunft voran, daß Ptolemaios damals Soter genannt war (τότε Σωτήρος χρηματίζοντος, §3). Wie aus Diodor (XX 100.3) und Pausanias (I 8.6) bekannt ist, erhielt Ptolemaios diesen Beinamen im Jahre 304. Josephus wollte aber hier diesen Beinamen den Taten dieses Herrschers gegenüberstellen.

und auf dieselbe Weise zurückkehrte. Diodor (XVIII 43) fügt hinzu, daß sein Strategie Nikanor die Handlungen zu Lande befahl. Solche kombinierte Feldzüge waren durchaus üblich⁴³.

Die meisten Forscher nehmen jetzt an, daß der Bericht des Josephus die Ereignisse nach der Gazaschlacht betrifft⁴⁴. Dieses Datum soll sich aus der allgemeinen politischen Situation ergeben, aber ein solches Argument kann nicht zwingend sein. Gegen diese Datierung ging V. Tcherikover los, der eine Diskrepanz zwischen dem Bericht des Josephus und den aus Diodor bekannten Ereignissen nach der Gazaschlacht feststellte und auf diesem Grund vorschlug, die Aktion Soters in dem Jahr 302 zu verankern⁴⁵. Im Lichte der obigen Ausführungen, und besonders des neu festgestellten Verlaufs der Handlungen in Syrien und der Interpretation des Textes von Hekataios sind die Beweisgründe V. Tcherikovers nicht aufrecht zu erhalten. Wir können mit ihm darüber einverstanden sein, daß in den Texten der beiden Autoren eine Diskrepanz vorhanden ist. Diodor nennt nämlich die Zerstörung einiger Städte in Südsyrien und Entführung jeder möglichen Beute; Josephus erwähnt dagegen die Entführung der Bewohner aus einigen Gebieten Palästinas, womit wohl auch die Plünderung des Landes und die Zerstörung zumindest von Jerusalem verbunden war. Diese Unterschiede können sich aber aus dem Umstand ergeben, daß beide Autoren ihre Auskünfte aus verschiedenen Quellen schöpften und daß die Ziele der beiden Berichte nicht gleich waren. Diodor benutzte bekanntlich in seiner Arbeit das Werk des Hieronymos, der nach Josephus aus Widerwillen gegen die Juden Palästina stillschweigend übergang. Josephus dagegen stellt seinem Programm gemäß nur die Geschichte Palästinas dar. Es fällt auch auf, daß beide Autoren Samaria als eines der Aktionsgebiete Soters nennen. Für Josephus war das sicherlich ein Teil von Palästina, für Hieronymos (Diodor) eine makedonische Stadt⁴⁶. Es ist hervorzuheben, daß obwohl die Einzelheiten beider Berichte nicht übereinstimmen, der Charakter der in beiden Quellen beschriebenen

⁴³ Vgl. Bemerkungen darüber im Abschnitt 6.

⁴⁴ Z.B. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides* I, Paris 1903, S. 32 Anm. 5; J. LESQUIER, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, Paris 1911, S. 119; M. LAUNY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* I, Paris 1949, S. 10, 543; Cl. WEHRLI, *Antigone et Démétrios*, Genève 1969, S. 51.

⁴⁵ V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 6), S. 57-58.

⁴⁶ V. TCHERIKOVER, o.c. (Anm. 6), S. 47-48, 103-104; A.H.M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971, S. 237; F. MILLAR, in: A. KUHR - S.N. SHERWIN-WHITE (ed.), *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley - Los Angeles 1987, S. 114.

Handlungen des Ptolemaios identisch zu sein scheint. Es waren wohl die Repressivmaßnahmen.

Im Bericht des Josephus gruppieren sich die Gebiete, wo Soter seine Aktion ausführte, in zwei Bezirken. Den ersten bilden das bergige Judäa und das Gebiet um Jerusalem; den zweiten bezeichnen Samaria und Garizein. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, daß beide Bezirke in der chronologischen Reihenfolge seiner Aktion genannt wurden. Weil wir die Einzelheiten nicht kennen, ist es unmöglich, den genauen Verlauf dieser Aktion in Judäa zu bestimmen, für das Josephus die Entführung der Gefangenen ἀπό τε τῆς ὀρεινῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων berichtet. Ähnlich weiß man nicht, warum der Autor zuerst Samaria und dann Garizein nennt. Abgesehen von diesen Einzelheiten können wir als allgemeine Richtung der Handlungen Soters den Weg von Süden nach Norden annehmen. Diese Richtung und der Charakter der Maßnahmen des Ptolemaios füllen die Lücke im Bericht des Diodor gut aus, der als allgemeine Richtung seines Vorrückens die Meeresküste entlang die Marschroute von Norden nach Süden angibt. Weil Ptolemaios bekanntlich vom Süden gekommen ist, muß er zuerst durch das Landesinnere von Palästina gemäß der von Josephus angegebenen Richtung gezogen sein, um die weitere Aktion die Küste entlang in Gegenrichtung fortzusetzen. Die ganze Sache ist nicht klar, und die hier angeführten Argumente entscheiden die Identität der in beiden Quellen aufgegriffenen Ereignisse nicht endgültig. Es ist aber durchaus wahrscheinlich, daß Josephus in seinem am Anfang dieses Abschnittes dargestellten Fragment über die erste Phase der Repressivmaßnahmen berichtet, die Ptolemaios im Frühjahr 311 ausführte.

6. SATRAPENSTELE

Die Satrapenstele bildet eine der wenigen und deswegen sehr wichtigen Quellen zur Geschichte des frühptolemäischen Ägypten⁴⁷. Obwohl sie seit über einhundert Jahren bekannt ist, bietet ihre Interpretation immer noch Schwierigkeiten. Die Stele war mehrmals Objekt von

⁴⁷ I. Kairo 22182 – H. BRUGSCH, *ZÄS* 9 (1871), S. 1-13, 59-61; K. SETHE, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Leipzig 1904, Nr. 9 (S. 11-22); A.B. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines (CGC)*, Le Caire 1905, I, S. 168-171, II, Taf. 56; G. ROEDER, o.c. (Anm. 34), S. 100-106 (Übers.); U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, in: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* I, Gütersloh 1983, S. 613-619 (Übers.).

Anmerkungen seitens verschiedener Autoren⁴⁸, erlebte aber nur zwei ausführlichere Kommentare⁴⁹.

Der Anlaß zur Herstellung der Satrapenstele war die Landschenkung für einen der Tempel in Buto im Westdelta. Wie das vor kurzem H. Goedicke zeigte, wurde diese Schenkung als Dank für die Hilfe ausgeführt, die die Götter dieser Ortschaft während des Feldzugs des Ptolemaios nach Syrien leisteten⁵⁰. Über den Charakter dieser Hilfe haben wir keine Angaben. Möglicherweise läßt sie sich, ebenso wie im Fall des Feldzugs des Jahres 217, auf die Erteilung eines günstigen Orakels zurückführen⁵¹. Gelegentlich stellten die Priester, Verfasser der Stele, ein ideales Bild des Herrschers dar und nannten manche historischen Ereignisse jener Zeit⁵², über deren Historizität, Identifizierung und

⁴⁸ Vgl. z.B. U. WILCKEN, *ZÄS* 35 (1897), S. 81-87; F. HINTZE, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* I, Berlin 1950, S. 14 Anm. 2; J. SEIBERT, o.c. (Anm. 32), S. 89 Anm. 17; Cl. VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie*, Bruxelles 1971, S. 148-149; A.B. LLOYD, *JEA* 58 (1972), S. 273-275; A.J. SPALINGER, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, Diss., Ann Arbor (Univ. Microfilms) 1973, S. 94-95, 214, 332; W. SWINNEN, in: *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine*, Paris 1973, S. 116-117; A. NIBBI, *GM* 69 (1983), S. 69-80; R.S. BIANCHI, *LA' V* (1984), Sp. 492-493; E. WINTER, in: *Tempel und Kult (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 46)*, Wiesbaden 1986, S. 70; D. LORTON, *GM* 96 (1987), S. 65-70.

⁴⁹ C. WACHSMUTH, *RhM* 26 (1871), S. 463-472, 640; H. GOEDICKE, *BES* 6 (1984), S. 33-54.

⁵⁰ *BES* 6 (1984), S. 45, 51. Die Landschenkungen an die Tempel, die auch zur Pharaonenzeit öfters zu finden sind, haben gewöhnlich keine Begründung. Aus Buto kennen wir zwei solche Stelen von 738 und 734 v.Chr., nach denen Tefnacht, der spätere König, je zehn Aruren Land den dortigen Tempeln schenkte. Vgl. F. GOMAA, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas*, Wiesbaden 1974, S. 43-44. Über die Geschichte Butos siehe D.B. REDFORD, *BES* 5 (1985), S. 67-98.

⁵¹ Buto war für sein untrügliches Orakel bekannt. Nach dessen Rat fragten u.a. Psammetichos I. und Kambyzes: Herodot II 152, III 64; vgl. auch II 83, 111 (die hier berichtete Geschichte wiederholt Diodor [I 58.1-4] mit einigen Veränderungen, indem er die Orakelerteilung der Gottheit in Heliopolis zuschreibt), 133, 155; Strab. XVII 1.18 [802]; Ael., *V.H.* II 41). Über den an Philopator vor dem Feldzug nach Syrien erteilten Orakelspruch siehe das Raphiadekret, Z. 9 (demot.): «Sie (die Götter) offenbarten es ihm (dem König) und verkündeten ihm und gaben ihm ein Orakel durch Traum, indem sie sagten, daß er seine Feinde besiegen wurde...»; Z. 30: «Er erwies den Priestern, den Tempelinsassen und den übrigen Leuten, die in ganz Ägypten sind, viele Wohltaten, indem er den Göttern dafür dankte, daß sie alles erfüllt hatten, was sie ihm verkündet hatten»; A 22-27: τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διατριβόντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο εὐχαριστῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συν[τελ]έσαι αὐτοὺς ἃ ἐπηγγείλαντο [αὐτῷ]. Die Götter erscheinen öfters den Königen im Traum, indem sie ihnen Kraft und Mut zum Kampf gegen die Feinde verleihen. Vgl. H.-J. THISSEN, o.c. (Anm. 19), S. 52-53; A.J. SPALINGER, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven – London 1982, S. 116-117. Über die Tradition der Orakelerteilung vor der Schlacht vgl. P. VERNUS, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), S. 55, 59.

⁵² Dieselben Elemente finden wir auch z.B. in den hieroglyphischen Stelen aus Pithom

Datierung in der Forschung gegensätzliche Meinungen geäußert wurden. Diese Meinungen waren meistens nicht ausreichend begründet; es ist nicht möglich, der einen oder anderen von ihnen zuzustimmen. Man muß also den Text der Stele in seinem historischen Zusammenhang untersuchen.

Beginnen wir mit der Anführung der Übersetzung G. Roeders (mit geringfügigen Abweichungen) des entsprechenden Fragments der Stele (Z. 3-6):

«Er (Ptolemaios) hat die Bilder der Götter zurückgebracht, die in Asien (*Stt*) gefunden waren, zusammen mit allen Geräten und allen 'Seelen des Re' (heilige Schriften) der Tempel von Ober- und Unterägypten. (4) Er setzte sie wieder an ihre Stätte.

Er richtete als seine Residenz ein die Stadt namens »die Burg des Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten 'Geliebt von Amon, Erwählt von Re, des Sohnes des Re, Alexandros« auf dem Ufer des Großen Grüns der Hau-Nebu (Griechen), deren Name früher Ra-kodet (Rakotis) war.

(5) Er versammelte zahlreiche Hau-Nebu (Griechen) mit ihren Pferden und zahlreiche Seeschiffe mit ihren Soldaten. (Dann) ging (*šm*⁵³) er mit seinen Soldaten nach dem Lande der Chor-Leute (*p3 t3 n3 Hr.w*⁵⁴; Phoinikien). Sie (die feindlichen Truppen) kämpften (*h3*

(*I. Kairo* 22183 – 265/264 – K. SETHE, *Urk.* II 20, S. 81-105; G. ROEDER, *o.c.* [Anm. 34], S. 108-128) und Mendes (*I. Kairo* 22181 – nach 265/264 – K. SETHE, *Urk.* II 13, S. 28-54; G. ROEDER, *o.c.*, S. 168-188). Das Idealbild des Herrschers als Einleitung in den hieroglyphischen Stelen ähnlicher Art setzt die pharaonische Tradition fort. Vgl. z.B. die Naukratisstele (siehe Anm. 34). Es kann Anspielungen auf die wirklichen Errungenschaften des Königs enthalten, aber nicht als eine Quelle darüber dienen, wie das z.B. F.M. ABEL, *RB* 44 (1935), S. 562, annimmt. Dieses Fragment der Stele hat mit den positiven Ansichten über Soter, die wir bei Diodor finden (siehe Anm. 32), nichts zu tun. Vgl. W. OTTO, *o.c.* (Anm. 34), S. 28; J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (Anm. 4), S. 89 Anm. 17.

⁵³ Das Zeitwort *šm* «gehen» ist ein üblicher Terminus für den Aufbruch zum Feldzug. Vgl. A.J. SPALINGER, *o.c.* (Anm. 51), S. 65-66, sowie *P. dem. Ryl.* 9, Kol. 14 Z. 17 (Perserzeit, aber der Text betrifft den Feldzug von Psammetichos II.; vgl. J.K. WINNICKI, *OLP* 17 (1986), S. 25; *Id.*, *l.c.* (Anm. 14); Pithom-Stele, Z. 10; Kanoposdekret, Z. 3:12; Raphiadekret, Z. 23 (demot.). Im Kanoposdekret wird dieses Zeitwort mit ἐξστρατεύσας (Z. 11) wiedergegeben.

⁵⁴ K. SETHE, *Urk.* II 15, nimmt die Lesung *p3 t3 n H3r.w* an, jedoch die Lesung *p3 t3 n3 Hr.w* ist eindeutig. Der Gebrauch der Artikel *p3* in dieser Wendung ist nicht zufällig. Wir finden die Artikel auch in den übrigen geographischen Bezeichnungen der Stele: *p3 t3 n W3dj.t* «das Land von Uto», Z. 7, 8, 12, 13, 18; *p3 t3 n Pr-W3dj.t* «the border of Buto», Z. 14; *p3 t3 n Tb-ntr* «the border of the Sebennytyt nome», Z. 15) und Gattungsnamen (*p3 sbt* «die Burg», Z. 4; *h3nk* «Geschenk», Z. 14; *p3 s3j t3* «the spill-land», Z. 15; *n3 '3.wj H'pj* «the sluices for inundation», Z. 15; *n3 '3.wj n p3 hs wsr* «the sluices of the rudder-canal», Z. 15; die Englisch angegebenen Bedeutungen der einzelnen Bezeichnungen werden von H. GOEDICKE, *BES* 6 (1984), S. 45-49, erörtert). Sie scheinen darauf

hn)⁵⁵ mit ihm, und er drang in sie ein, indem sein Herz mächtig war wie das eines Falken hinter kleinen Vögeln. Er ergriff sie mit einem Male, und er brachte ihre Großen (*wr.w*) (6) und ihre Pferde und ihre Seeschiffe und alle ihre Kostbarkeiten nach Baket (Ägypten).

Nach diesem begab (*wḏḥ*)⁵⁶ er sich nach dem Gebiet (*pḥ tš*) der... Er nahm sie (die Bewohner) in einem einzigen Augenblick. Er brachte ihre Soldaten mit Männern und Frauen zusammen mit ihren Göttern (Bildern) heim als Ausgleich (*isw*) für das, was sie gegen Baket (Ägypten) getan hatten.

(Dann) gelangte er nach Kemet (Ägypten), indem sein Herz froh war über das, was er getan hatte. (Dann) machte er einen schönen Tag (*ir hrw nfr*; feierte ein Fest)⁵⁷.

Das angeführte Fragment berichtet über vier Ereignisse:

1. Zurückbringung der in Asien gefundenen Götterbilder und anderer Kultobjekte der Ägypter.
2. Verlegung der Königsresidenz nach Alexandrien.
3. Feldzug nach Phönicien.
4. Feldzug nach dem Gebiet, dessen Schreibung unterschiedliche Lesungen und Interpretationen zuläßt.

Keines dieser Ereignisse wurde im Text datiert. Die Stele wurde im 7. Jahr Alexanders IV., im ersten Monat der *ḥ.t*-Jahreszeit (= Thoth) verfaßt, d.h. zwischen dem 9. November und dem 8. Dezember 311⁵⁸.

hinzuweisen, daß die Verfasser der Stele aus dem demotischen Sprachgut schöpften. Vgl. A.J. SPALINGER, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), S. 147-148; D. KESSLER, *SAK* 9 (1981), S. 227-230.

⁵⁵ Nach A.J. SPALINGER, *o.c.* (Anm. 51), S. 86: «This term is used for the actual combat between the Egyptians and the enemy; it refers to the first bloody encounter».

⁵⁶ Das Zeitwort *wḏḥ* «sich begeben, gehen» kommt in derselben Bedeutung früher (*Wb.* I 403, 12) vor. Für die Ptolemäerzeit vgl. Kanoposdekret, Z. 6 (hierogl.), wo es in der demotischen Fassung mit *šm* wiedergegeben wird. Zum letzteren Zeitwort siehe Anm. 53.

⁵⁷ Das angeführte Fragment übersetzte auch H. GOEDICKE, *BES* 6 (1984), S. 33. Er berücksichtigte aber die Berichtigung von K. Sethe nicht, der die beiden letzten im Text der Publikation ausgelassenen Sätze ergänzt. Deswegen ist die Interpretation H. Goedicke der Schlußzeilen dieses Fragments wertlos. Über die Bedeutung von *ir hrw nfr* siehe D. LORTON, *JARCE* 12 (1975), S. 23-31.

⁵⁸ Nach *P. Eleph.* I, Z. 4 entspricht das 7. Regierungsjahr Alexanders IV. dem 14. Regierungsjahr von Ptolemaios I., der seine Herrschaft als Satrap seit dem Tode Alexanders des Großen (324/323) rechnet. Vgl. A.E. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, München 1962, S. 12-13; P.W. PESTMAN, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques*, Leiden 1967, S. 12; O. MURRAY, *JEA* 56 (1970), S. 142. Der Tag wird nicht erwähnt. Dieser Erscheinung begegnen wir auch in den frühdemotischen Urkunden, für die man manchmal annimmt, daß diese Datierungsweise sich auf den ersten Monatstag bezieht. Vgl. z.B. E. BRESCIANI, *EVO* 6 (1983), S. 20. Die hieroglyphischen Quellen aus der Zeit von Alexander IV. stellte M. ATZLER, *Antike Kunst* 15 (1972), S. 120ff. (*non vidi*), zusammen.

Alle diese Ereignisse müssen also vor diesem Datum stattgefunden haben.

Man nimmt an, daß die in der Stele genannten Ereignisse in chronologischer Reihenfolge aufgezeichnet wurden⁵⁹. Diese Voraussetzung ist zweifellos sehr wahrscheinlich. Es bleibt aber unsicher, ob in dieser Reihenfolge auch die Rückführung der Götterstatuen mit einbegriffen wird. Die Anbringung dieses Ereignisses am Anfang der Aufzählung kann nämlich durch den Umstand erklärt werden, daß die Priester diesem Ereignis die größte Bedeutung beigemessen haben. Es ist jedoch sicher, daß diese Rückführung das Ergebnis einer der von Ptolemaios unternommenen Expeditionen war. Auf ähnliche Weise stellten die Priester des Atum von Pithom den Feldzug von Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos im Jahre 274 dar⁶⁰, und im Kanoposdekret geht der Nennung der Rückführung von Götterbildern die Erwähnung des Feldzugs voran. Aus dem Wortlaut der Satrapenstele selbst können wir nicht schließen, ob hier der Feldzug nach Syrien gemeint ist, von dem weiter unten im Text die Rede ist, oder ob wir mit zwei verschiedenen Ereignissen zu tun haben. Der Auskunft über die Rückführung der Götterstatuen verweigern manche Forscher jede historische Bedeutung. Diese Ansicht erregt beachtliche Bedenken. Meiner Meinung nach ist diese Nachricht vertrauenswürdig, wobei die Zurückführung mit der Teilnahme der Ägypter an einem Feldzug verbunden war⁶¹. Die letzteren hatten an den zwei früheren Expeditionen Soters nach Syrien (321 und 319) nicht teilgenommen⁶². Demgemäß nehme ich als wahrscheinlich an, daß die hier berichtete Zurückführung während des Feldzugs gegen Demetrios 312 stattgefunden hat.

Die Verlegung der Königsresidenz nach Alexandrien ist nur aus der

⁵⁹ Z.B. O. MURRAY, *JEA* 56 (1970), S. 142 Anm. 21; P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* II (Anm. 4), S. 11 Anm. 28.

⁶⁰ Vgl. meinen Aufsatz *Bericht von einem Feldzug des Ptolemaios Philadelphos in der Pithom-Stele*, *JJP* 20 (1990), S. 157-167. Jedenfalls scheint die Behauptung G. ROEDERS, *o.c.* (Anm. 34), S. 98, daß Ptolemaios I. diese Götterbilder dank Verhandlungen mit der »Reichsverwaltung in Babylon« zurückgewonnen hat, wenig wahrscheinlich zu sein.

⁶¹ Vgl. dazu meinen Aufsatz *Die von den Persern entführten Götterbilder* (Druck in *ZPE* geplant).

⁶² Die Sache ist nicht ganz klar. Es ist aber wenig wahrscheinlich, daß die Ägypter an der Expedition teilgenommen haben, die die Übernahme der Leiche Alexanders des Großen zum Ziel hatte. Auch für die nächste Expedition im Jahre 319 erwartete wohl Soter keinen größeren Widerstand in Syrien und brauchte an die Ägypter nicht zu appellieren.

Satrapenstele bekannt. Ihr Datum wurde nicht festgestellt, und es herrschen gegensätzliche Meinungen darüber⁶³.

Der erste in der Stele genannte Feldzug ist wohl mit dem gegen Demetrios gleichzusetzen, der Ptolemaios den Sieg bei Gaza im Spätherbst 312 einbrachte⁶⁴. Diese Schlacht, relativ kurz vor der Abfassung der Stele geschlagen, war zweifelsohne ein großer militärischer Erfolg Soters. Dazu ist auch zu bemerken, daß wir von den zwei ersten Expeditionen Ptolemaios' nach Syrien zum einen keinerlei Informationen über irgendeine Schlacht haben; zum anderen aber die bei den griechischen Schriftstellern erhaltenen Berichte eine solche kaum zulassen.

Das Ziel dieses Feldzugs wurde in der Stele als *p3 t3 n3 Hr.w* «das Land der Chor-Leute» bezeichnet, was man für die Ptolemäerzeit gewöhnlich als Syrien versteht, während man für die Pharaonenepoche die Bedeutung Palästina annimmt⁶⁵. Im Kanoposdekret (Z. 5:18) wurde die demotische Bezeichnung *p3 tš p3 Išr*⁶⁶ *p3 tš n3 Hr.w* «der

⁶³ Vgl. z.B. O. MURRAY, *JEA* 56 (1970), S. 142 (312 v.Chr.); P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* (Anm. 4), I, S. 7, II, S. 12 (320/319); W. SWINNEN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 116 Anm. 2 (vor 319/318); A. JÄHNE, *EAZ* 23 (1982), S. 485 («zweifelsohne vor 317»), 489 («im Sommer 321»); E.G. TURNER, in: *CAH* VII 1, Cambridge 1984, S. 127 («about 313 B.C.»).

⁶⁴ Die bisherigen von den Forschern für oder gegen diese Datierung angeführten Argumente sind unhaltbar. C. WACHSMUTH, *RhM* 26 (1871), S. 469, optiert für 312, da er annimmt, daß Ptolemaios an dem Feldzug 319 nicht teilgenommen hat. Vgl. aber Diodor (XVIII 43.1-2) und Appian (*Syr.* 52 [264-265]), die seine Teilnahme ausdrücklich nennen. Nach W. SWINNEN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 116 Anm. 2, geht es um den Feldzug des Jahres 319, weil «on constate que l'importance accordée aux Grecs et le rôle prépondérant de la flotte ne concordent pas avec les faits de la campagne de Gaza, où ce sont précisément les forces terrestres égyptiennes qui se sont illustrées». Diese ganze Behauptung wird von den Quellen nicht bestätigt. Die Griechen und die Flotte werden in der Stele genannt, aber von ihrer Rolle in der Schlacht ist nicht die Rede. Ähnlich nennt Diodor (XIX 80.4) die Ägypter, verschweigt aber deren Rolle. Aufschlußreich sind hier die analogen Angaben über die Schlacht bei Raphia. Polybios (V 107.1-3) scheint den Ägyptern eine entscheidende Rolle in der Schlacht zuzuerkennen (obwohl er ihre Errungenschaften namentlich nicht nennt), während das Raphiadekret ihre Teilnahme mit Stillschweigen übergeht. Vgl. auch C.B. WELLES, *Historia* 11 (1962), S. 273-274; P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* II (Anm. 4), S. 11-12.

⁶⁵ Vgl. F.L. GRIFFITH, *P. Ryl.* III, S. 318; G. MÖLLER, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburgh*, Leipzig 1913, S. 76 (Nr. 544); H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* IV, S. 151; A.H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, Oxford 1969, S. 180*-187*; E. DRIOTON - J. VANDIER, *o.c.* (Anm. 24), S. 396; M. ASTOUR, *RHA* 36 (1978), S. 1; P. VERNUS, *RHA* 36 (1978), S. 200-204 — die beiden letzten Verweise verdanke ich Herrn M. Barwik.

⁶⁶ Es herrschen zwei gegensätzliche Ansichten über die Lesung dieses Namens. Er kommt in zwei Kopien dieses Dekrets vor. In B18 ist nicht sicher, ob der Terminus *'Imr* oder *'Išr* zu lesen ist. Das fragliche Zeichen erscheint jedoch in der identischen Form in *škr* (B17) und *š'r* (B18). In A5 ist die Lesung *'Išr* wahrscheinlicher, aber die Stelle ist etwas beschädigt. Die Lesung *p3 tš 'Imr* schlug W.M. MÜLLER im vorigen Jahrhundert vor, und

Gau des Syrsers (Assyrers) und der Gau der Chor-Leute» als Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη übersetzt. Dieses Zeugnis läßt schlußfolgern, daß die Stele Phönikien als Ziel des Feldzugs nennt.

Vorausgesetzt, daß die beiden letzten Ereignisse in der Stele chronologisch aufgezählt sind, müssen wir den zweiten Feldzug in die Zeit nach dem Spätherbst 312 datieren. Die klassischen Quellen nennen einen solchen Feldzug nicht, was möglicherweise darauf schließen läßt, daß dieser einen beschränkten Umfang oder Wirkungsbereich hatte.

Auch das Ziel dieses zweiten Feldzugs wird in der Stele namentlich genannt, doch seine Schreibweise läßt einige Lesungen und Interpretationen zu. Bis jetzt schlug man folgendes vor:

(p3 tš) ⁶⁷ 'Ir-m-mr(?)	«Marmarischer Gau» ⁶⁸ , «Volk in Nubien» ⁶⁹ , «Libyen» ⁷⁰
p3 tš 'Irmjtj.w ('Irm3)	«wohl das Kernland des nubischen Reiches... Viel-

seine Meinung teilen F.LI. GRIFFITH, *P. Ryl.* III, S. 318; A.H. GARDINER, *o.c.* (Anm. 65), S. 181*; R.A. PARKER, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse and Lunar-Omina*, Providence (R.I.) 1959, S. 7; R. GIVEON, *LÄ I* (1975), Sp. 252. Für die Lesung 'Išr erklären sich W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der demotische Text der Priesterdekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)*, Heidelberg 1922, S. 219 (Nr. 469); G.R. HUGHES, *JNES* 10 (1951), S. 259-260; W. ERICHSEN, *Glossar*, S. 45. Bekannt ist, daß beide Bezeichnungen, p3 'Imr (Var. 'jmr) und p3 tš (Var. p3 t3) p3 'Išr (Var. 'Ihwr), unabhängig voneinander bestanden, indem sie sich auf zwei verschiedene Gebiete Syriens bezogen (vgl. H.S. SMITH – W.J. TAIT, *Saqqara Demotic Papyri*, London 1983, S. 120 [cl]). Im Kanoposdekret wurde die angeführte Bezeichnung mit Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη wiedergegeben, was ein offizieller Name der ptolemäischen, zwischen Raphia und dem Eleutheros-Fluß (Nahr el-Kebir) gelegenen Provinz war (vgl. E. WILL, *o.c.* I [Anm. 15], S. 82-83). Wir können annehmen, daß die demotische Bezeichnung dessen Äquivalent ist. Derselbe allgemeine Ausdruck p3 tš p3 'Išr p3 tš n3 Hr.w kommt auch im Raphiadekret (Z. 9, 22) vor. Dieser bezieht sich auf den Feldzug Ptolemaios' IV. Philopator im Jahre 217, der bekanntlich durch seine ganze syrisch-phoinikische Provinz zog. Ist diese Analogie richtig, so sollen wir auch den im Kanoposdekret gebrauchten Ausdruck p3 tš p3 'Išr p3 tš n3 Hr(.w) lesen.

⁶⁷ P3 tš kommt öfter in den Texten der Ptolemäerzeit vor, wobei es sich sowohl auf zu Ägypten gehörende als auch auf fremde Gebiete bezieht. Vgl. z.B. «Er (Ptolemaios IV.) durchzog die übrigen Orte, die in seinem Reich waren (r wn.n3.w hn p3j=f tš)» (Raphiadekret, Z. 15 [demot.]); «Er zog in die Gebiete (n3 tš.w) seiner Feinde» (*ibid.*, Z. 23 [demot.]).

⁶⁸ H. BRUGSCH, *ZÄS* 9 (1871), S. 13; K. SETHE, *Urk.* II, S. 15; H. GAUTHIER, *Les nomes d'Égypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe*, Le Caire 1935, S. 178-180; A.J. SPALINGER, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 214. Diese Gleichsetzung lehnen F.K. KIENITZ, *Politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jht. vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin 1953, S. 134 Anm. 3; P. KAPLONY, *CE* 46 (1971), S. 257 Anm. 1; T.G. JAMES, in: P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* II (Anm. 4), S. 12 ab.

⁶⁹ *Wb.* I 116.1; F.K. KIENITZ, *o.c.* (Anm. 68), S. 134 Anm. 3; W. SWINNEN, *o.c.* (Anm. 48), S. 123 Anm. 4.

⁷⁰ G. ROEDER, *o.c.* (Anm. 34), S. 102.

	leicht ist die Bezeichnung mit 'Meroe' vermischt worden» ⁷¹
<i>p3 tš 'Iritj.w</i>	«il faut probablement y voir une désignation des Arabes (peut-être des gens d'Elath)» ⁷²
<i>p3 tš 'Iri-mi-š</i>	«'the border of the Arameans'... a reference to the Aramaic-speaking population of Palestine» ⁷³
<i>(p3 tš) 'Imrtj.w</i>	«Amoriter» ⁷⁴
—	«the so-called Egyptian maritime nomes» ⁷⁵

Nach der Meinung von J. Yoyotte sind die Lesungen *'Ir-m-š*, *'Ir-m-tj.w*, *'Ir-i-tj.w* möglich; er schlägt aber keine Gleichsetzungen vor⁷⁶.

Alle diese Gleichsetzungen sind praktisch ohne Begründung angegeben, indem ihre Verfasser eine nur formelle Ähnlichkeit zwischen der angenommenen Lesung und den Namen der vorgeschlagenen Gebietsbezeichnung hervorheben. Die Diskrepanz der Ansichten zeigt, daß dieses Argument unzuverlässig ist. Der Forschungsgeschichte der fremden geographischen Namen in den ägyptischen Texten können wir entnehmen, daß eine weitgehende Vorsicht bei jeder Gleichsetzung zu empfehlen ist.

Die Untersuchung der Beschreibungen beider Feldzüge liefert uns Angaben über ihren Verlauf und Charakter. Die Beschreibung des ersten von ihnen, nach Phönikien, umfaßt die allgemeine Darstellung der Vorbereitungen und einer Schlacht, die nach rein ägyptischer Konvention verfaßt wurde, nach der der Sieg nur den Heldentaten des Königs zugeschrieben wurde⁷⁷. Dann folgt noch die Beschreibung der Kriegsbeute und die Erwähnung von deren Verbringung nach Ägypten.

Diese Beschreibung weicht in einigen Punkten von derjenigen Diodor ab, was sich sicherlich aus dem ganz unterschiedlichen Charakter der beiden Quellen ergibt. Es fällt auf, daß die Stele die Teilnahme der Ägypter an dem Feldzug mit Stillschweigen übergeht, obwohl die Nennung der Zurückbringung von Götterstatuen⁷⁸, die auf diesen Feldzug zu beziehen ist, diese Teilnahme zu suggerieren scheint. Sie nennt dagegen die Beteiligung der eigenen Flotte an dem Feldzug und

⁷¹ P. KAPLONY, *CE* 46 (1971), S. 257 Anm. 1.

⁷² R. GIVEON, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*, Leiden 1971, S. 181.

⁷³ H. GOEDICKE, *BES* 6 (1984), S. 34.

⁷⁴ H.-J. THISSEN, mündlich im Dezember 1986.

⁷⁵ R.S. BIANCHI, *LÄ* V (1984), Sp. 492.

⁷⁶ J. YOYOTTE, in: P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* II (Anm. 4), S. 12. Ich nehme an, daß die dort angegebene Umschrift *'Ir-m-z* ein Druckfehler statt *'Ir-m-š* ist.

⁷⁷ Vgl. J. VON BECKERATH, *LÄ* II (1977), Sp. 566.

⁷⁸ Vgl. oben Anm. 61.

erwähnt die feindlichen Schiffe nach der Gazaschlacht als Teil der Kriegsbeute; dies fehlt bei Diodor. Die Flotte begleitete gewöhnlich die Landarmee während der syrischen Feldzüge und umfaßte die Kriegs- und Transportschiffe⁷⁹. Die letzteren lieferten die Versorgung an die Truppen. Eine spezielle Aufgabe hatte sie auf der Strecke zwischen Pelusium und Gaza von etwa 200 km Länge zu erfüllen, wo Mangel an Wasser ihre Anwesenheit unentbehrlich machte. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte versuchte man diese Schwierigkeit durch das Graben von Brunnen zu überwinden. Es bleibt freilich unklar, ob diese in der gegebenen Zeit bestanden, weil wir die Angaben darüber nur aus der Periode des Neuen Reiches⁸⁰, und aus dem Jahre 218 haben. Im letzteren Fall wurden sie wegen der Bedrohung einer Invasion verschüttet⁸¹. Es ist zu bezweifeln, daß die Brunnen ausreichende Menge von Wasser liefern konnten, weil die gegenwärtigen Anlagen ähnlichen Charakters nur kleine Mengen von Wasser brackigen Geschmacks enthalten⁸². Die notwendige Beteiligung der Flotte an den Feldzügen beschränkte diese praktisch auf die Seefahrtsaison zwischen Anfang März und Anfang November⁸³.

⁷⁹ Wir verfügen über die Angaben, daß die Flotte an den meisten Feldzügen vom 4. bis zur 2. Jh. v. Chr. in diesem Gebiet teilnahm:

- 362 (Tachos [Teos]) – Diodor XV 90.2, 92.1-2;
- 332 (Alexander der Große) – Arrian, *Anab.* III 1.1;
- 319 (Ptolemaios I.) – Appian, *Syr.* 52 (264-265);
- 306 (Antigonos und Demetrios) – Diodor XX 73.2-3; 246 (Ptolemaios III.) – I. Adulis (*OGIS* I 54; Kosmas Indikopleustes II 58 [ed. W. Wolska-Conus (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 141), Paris 1968]; WChr I [*FGrHist* 160; Pack² 2206]);
- 218 überfiel Antiochos III. Syrien zu Lande und zu Wasser, und Ptolemaios IV. stellte ihm das Landheer und die Flotte entgegen (Polyb. V 68-69);
- 145 (Ptolemaios VI.) – *IMacc* 11.1; Josephus, *Ant.* XIII 103;
- 103 (Kleopatra III.) – Josephus, *Ant.* XIII 348-350.

Nur in einem einzigen Fall haben wir eine Auskunft über die Rolle der Flotte. Nach Diodor zog sie im Jahre 306 die Küste entlang parallel zum Landheer und zählte 150 Kriegs- (νῆες μακραι) und 100 Transportschiffe (πορία στρατιωτικά), die die Bewaffnung beförderten (ἐν οἷς ἐκομίζετο βελῶν πλῆθος).

⁸⁰ Auf dieser Strecke entdeckte man über 20 im Neuen Reich gebaute Festungen. Es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, daß diese Anlagen bis zur Ptolemäerzeit überdauert haben. Siehe A.H. GARDINER, *JEA* 6 (1920), S. 99-116; H. DE MEULENAERE, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, Leuven 1951, S. 34; E. OREN, *Egyptian New Kingdom Sites in North-Eastern Sinai*, *Qadmoniot* 13 (1980), S. 26-33 (hebr., non vidi); ID., *Migdol: a New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta*, *BASOR* 256 (1984), S. 7-44.

⁸¹ Polyb. V 62.8. Herodot (III 5-7) berichtet, daß die Perser nach der Eroberung Ägyptens anordneten, die leeren Weingefäße mit Wasser zu füllen und diese Strecke entlang aufzustellen.

⁸² D.W. ENGELS, *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1978, S. 59-60, 64, 155-156.

⁸³ Vgl. die Bemerkungen H. HAUBENS, *CE* 60 (1985), S. 106 Anm. 4.

Für die Bezeichnung der am Feldzug teilnehmenden Schiffe gebraucht die Stele den Terminus *kbnw(.t)*, der sich auf die Seeschiffe bezieht⁸⁴. Wir wissen dagegen aus dem Zenon-Archiv, daß man im Handel mit Syrien die auf dem Nil segelnden Schiffe benutzte⁸⁵. Es ist also nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die letzteren zum Transport der Versorgung während dieser Feldzüge gebraucht wurden und die Stele in diesem Detail nicht vollständig zu sein scheint.

Unter der im Texte der Stele genannten Kriegsbeute, die Soter nach Ägypten brachte, kommt der Terminus *wr.w* «die Großen» vor⁸⁶, den C. Wachsmuth⁸⁷ als «Fürsten» übersetzt; er nimmt an, daß es hier um βασιλεῖς τῶν Φοινίκων geht, die während des Rückzugs von Ptolemaios aus Syrien als Geisel entführt wurden. Dieser Vorschlag ist wenig wahrscheinlich, weil dieses Fragment der Stele nur die Beschreibung der Gazaschlacht enthält und die Ereignisse, die erst nach der zweiten in der Stele genannten Expedition stattgefunden haben, nicht umfaßt. Nehmen wir jedoch an, daß diese Beschreibung die späteren Ereignisse betrifft, so wissen wir aus Diodor, daß Ptolemaios kein Abkommen mit Antigonos abgeschlossen hatte, dessen Einhaltung die Geisel garantieren sollten. Außerdem wurden die Kinder oder Verwandten des Führers der Gegenseite als Geisel genommen, die phönizischen Fürsten waren dagegen Untertanen von Antigonos und können als solche nicht in Frage kommen.

Den Terminus *wr.w* übersetzt H. Goedicke mit «mercenaries»⁸⁸. Dies ergibt sich wohl aus der Zusammenstellung der Beutebeschreibung bei Diodor mit dem Texte der Stele. Erinnern wir daran, daß Diodor

⁸⁴ Vgl. A.B. LLOYD, *JEA* 58 (1972), S. 272-276; A.J. SPALINGER, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), S.149 Anm. 42.

⁸⁵ Die auf dem Nil fahrenden Keletes und Kybaiai (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59054, 59110, III 59320; *P. Mich. Zen.* 22) benutzte man auch im Handel mit Syrien (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59012, 59015 recto, 59077). Vgl. L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, S. 160-161, 166-167.

⁸⁶ Der Terminus wird mit drei stehenden, auf einem Stock gestützten Männern (Gardiner, A21) mit einer Feder (H6*, oder einem Palmenzweig M3) auf dem Kopf geschrieben. Diese Gestalten sind mit dem gebückten, auf einem Stock gestützten Mann (A19) gleichzusetzen, die die Lesung *wr* enthält. Das zusätzliche Element auf dem Kopf ändert diese Lesung nicht. In der in der Satrapenstele vorkommenden Bezeichnung des Ptolemaios als Satrap *wr ʿ* «der Großfürst» kommt sowohl die Gestalt mit der Feder (*Urk.* II 13.5, 16.5) als auch ohne sie (*Urk.* II 19.3, 21.4) vor. Eine identische Gestalt mit Feder mit der Lesung *wr* finden wir auch in der Pithom-Stele in *W3d-wr* «das Große Grün» (Mittelmeer, *Urk.* II 86.10, 87.9).

⁸⁷ *RhM* 26 (1871), S. 465, 469.

⁸⁸ *BES* 6 (1984), S. 33.

(XIX 85.3) unter der Kriegsbeute von Ptolemaios und Seleukos neben 8.000 Soldaten, Dienstleute des Demetrios und das königliche Gepäck (*ἀποσκευή*) nennt, und Plutarch (*Demetr.* 5.3) noch das Zelt und die Kasse des Demetrios hinzufügt. Beide Autoren stimmen darin überein, daß Soter und Seleukos Demetrios alles mit Ausnahme der Soldaten zurücksandten. Es wird klar, daß nur die Soldaten nach Ägypten geschickt wurden; das heißt aber nicht, daß sie in der Stele genannt wurden. Keine der Quellen muß alle Umstände dieser Schlacht enthalten. Gegen die Interpretation H. Goedickes spricht das ägyptische Wörterbuch, das diese Bedeutung von *wr.w* nicht notiert⁸⁹.

Es ist hervorzuheben, daß die Fürsten der Gegenseite öfter unter der Kriegsbeute der Pharaonenzeit genannt werden⁹⁰ und daß ihre Gefangennahme ein Symbol der völligen Besiegung des Feindes war. Möglicherweise wurde die Bezeichnung aus denselben Gründen gebraucht wie die ganze Beschreibung der Schlacht nach der alten ägyptischen Konvention, wo manche Einzelheiten in Übertragener Bedeutung zu verstehen sind.

Dieselbe Bedeutung gilt wohl auch für die Anmerkung über die Herbeiführung «aller Kostbarkeiten» nach Ägypten, die auch des öfteren unter den Kriegsbeuten der Pharaonenzeit genannt wurden⁹¹. Die Berichte von Diodor (XIX 85.3) und Plutarch (*Demetr.* 5.3) sprechen ausdrücklich nur von der persönlichen Ausrüstung des Demetrios, die ihm bald zurückgegeben wurde.

Ähnlich muß man die Anmerkung verstehen, daß Ptolemaios die Soldaten nach Ägypten brachte, was suggeriert, daß er persönlich dorthin gelangte. Aus Diodor wissen wir, daß er nur die Soldaten sandte und selbst in Syrien blieb. In der Stele fehlt auch irgendeine Anmerkung über den erneuten Aufbruch nach Syrien, während die

⁸⁹ Einen ähnlichen Gedankengang finden wir im Falle der Bezeichnung *pd.t* (Stele Louvre A90, Z. 6 – Psammetichos II.), die als «Söldner» übersetzt wurde, weil der Text «fremde Soldtruppen» betrifft (A. MASPÉRO, *ZÄS* 22, 1884, S. 89; H. SCHÄFER, *Klio* 4, 1904, S. 158; J.H. BREASTED, *o.c.* IV (Anm. 24), §994). Ebenso *h3stj.w* «mercenaries» (A.J. SPALINGER, *JARCE* 13, 1976, S. 145 Anm. 31). Keine dieser Bezeichnungen umfaßte den Begriff eines Söldners, der erst in der demotischen Sprache aus dem griechischen übersetzt wurde. Vgl. S.P. VLEEMING, *P.L. Bat.* 23 (1985), S. 204-206.

⁹⁰ Vgl. z.B. den Bericht über die fünfte Kampagne von Thothmes III. nach Syrien (*ANET*² 238-239) und den über den Feldzug von Amenhotep II. (*ANET*² 245, 247), sowie R. ANTHES, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), S. 26-35. Über die hier gebrauchte Namensform Amenhotep siehe J. QUAEGBEUR, *REgypt* 37 (1986), S. 97-106.

⁹¹ Vgl. H.-J. THISSEN, *o.c.* (Anm. 51), S. 56-57.

Tatsache seiner Rückkehr nach dem zweiten der dort genannten Feldzüge ausdrücklich angegeben wird.

Der zweite Feldzug wurde kürzer als der erste dargestellt. Von den Vorbereitungen und der Schlacht ist keine Rede, was die Vermutung nahe legt, daß Ptolemaios dabei keinen größeren Widerstand angetroffen hat. Es folgt nur die Beschreibung der Kriegsbeute, die Soldaten, Männer, Frauen und Götterbilder umfaßte. Diese Beschreibung weist auf ein auswärtiges Ziel der Expedition hin. Von großer Bedeutung ist auch die Begründung des Unternehmens, das ein «Ausgleich (*isw*) für das, was sie (die Bewohner) gegen Baket (Ägypten) getan hatten», sein sollte. Diese Begründung scheint auf eine Strafexpedition hinzuweisen⁹². Erst nach dem Abschluß dieser Expedition ist Ptolemaios nach Ägypten zurückgekommen.

Diese Interpretation lehnt H. Goedicke ab⁹³. Wir können aber nach ihm nicht annehmen, daß die Entführung von Truppen, Bevölkerung und Götterbildern «reward for their doings» war, und seine Meinung über die Beschreibung der Kriegsbeute als «rather strange statement» nicht teilen. Alle in diesem Fragment genannten Elemente entsprechen gut unseren Vorstellungen über die Kriegsbeute. Ähnlichen Beschreibungen begegnen wir öfters in den ägyptischen Texten. Amenhotep II. (etwa 1450-1425) kehrte z.B. aus Syrien zurück, und «its (Syrien) princes, its children and its women were carried off as living prisoners»⁹⁴. Es fehlt eine frühere Analogie für die Entführung der Götterbilder. Diese Tatsache bezeugt aber Hieronymos für die Ptolemäerzeit. Nach ihm (*Comm. in Daniel*. 11.7-9) soll Ptolemaios III. Euergetes zahlreiche Götterbilder aus Nordsyrien entführt haben⁹⁵.

Aus der Beschreibung der beiden Feldzüge können wir schließen, daß der zweite von viel kleinerem Ausmaß war und etwa als eine Fortsetzung des ersten zu verstehen ist. Das entspricht dem Bericht Diodors, nach dem Ptolemaios nach der Besiegung des Demetrios in Syrien blieb und erst die Ankunft des Antigonos ihn zur Räumung des Landes zwang.

⁹² So auch F.K. KIENITZ, *o.c.* (Anm. 68), S. 134-135.

⁹³ *BES* 6 (1984), S. 34-35.

⁹⁴ *ANET*² 246; ebenso 247, aus derselben Regierungszeit. Es können weitere ähnliche Beispiele aus der Periode der 18.-20. Dynastie (1580-1085) genannt werden. In der Spätzeit waren die Feldzüge nach Syrien seltener, und die Quellen enthalten keine Beschreibungen der Beute.

⁹⁵ *FGrHist* II 260 F43. Vgl. oben Anm. 61.

Es entsteht die Frage, ob der zweite Feldzug mit den von Diodor (XIX 93.7) und Josephus (*Ant.* XII 3-9) bekannten Repressivhandlungen Soters, die direkt seinem Rückzug vorangingen, gleichzusetzen ist⁹⁶. Alle drei Quellen erlauben es uns, in den von ihnen berichteten Handlungen Aktionen von ähnlichen Charakter zu sehen. Es ist aber kaum möglich, die Zerstörung einer Reihe von Städten und die Entführung der Beute aus einigen Gebieten Syriens mit der Behauptung der Stele, daß Ptolemaios «sie (die Bewohner) in einem einzigen Augenblick (*m 3. t w'. t*) besiegte», in Einklang zu bringen. Diese ist sicherlich nicht wörtlich zu verstehen, sie kann aber mit der ähnlichen Wendung *m sp w'* «mit einem Male», die sich auf die Teilnahme Soters an der Gazaschlacht bezieht, verglichen werden. Es scheint möglich, daß während der Strafexpedition Soters nur ein Gefecht stattfand. Bekannt ist auch, daß weder die Stele noch Diodor den vollständigen Bericht der Handlungen von Ptolemaios in Syrien enthalten. Jede dieser Quellen kann Tatsachen aufzählen, die in der anderen nicht zu finden sind.

Aus den früheren Teilen dieser Studie wissen wir, daß Ptolemaios direkt nach der Gazaschlacht die von Demetrios geräumten Gebiete besetzte. Im Winter 312/311 erfolgte wohl eine Pause in den Kriegshandlungen, und im Frühjahr des nächsten Jahres zog er mit Seleukos in Richtung Petra. Diese Aktivität war wahrscheinlich mit der Expedition des Seleukos verbunden. Soter weilte dort zwischen Mitte März und Mitte April, und diese beschränkte Zeit läßt glauben, daß seine Tätigkeit nicht weit über den Sinai hinausging. In diese Periode und dieses Gebiet kann wohl die aus der Stele bekannte Strafexpedition fallen.

Vor diesem Hintergrund können wir die bisher vorgeschlagenen Ziele der Strafexpedition erörtern. Die obigen Feststellungen erlauben es uns, den Marmarischen Gau (*'Ir-m-mr(?)*⁹⁷) oder eventuell die Kyrenaika und Libyen, sowie das Land *'Irm* und Meroe auszuschließen. Gegen die

⁹⁶ H. GOEDICKE, *BES* 6 (1984), S. 34-35, nimmt an, daß der aus der Stele bekannte Feldzug mit dem im Aristeeasbrief (§12-14) identisch ist. Er liefert aber keine Argumente dafür.

⁹⁷ Vgl. H. KEES, *RE* XIV (1930), Sp. 1881-1883; H. GAUTHIER, *o.c.* (Anm. 68), S. 178-180; A. CALDERINI, *Diz.* III (1980), S. 238. Die Vorschläge von C.B. WELLES, *Historia* 11 (1962), S. 274 Anm. 8; P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* II (Anm. 4), S. 12, in der Strafexpedition eine Unterdrückung des Aufstandes in der Kyrenaika 312 zu sehen, müssen wir ablehnen, weil Ptolemaios nach Diodor (XIX 79.1-3) daran nicht teilnahm, während die Stele seine Teilnahme ausdrücklich nennt.

genannten Gleichsetzungen spricht zusätzlich die Entfernung zwischen dem Standort der ptolemäischen Armee und den vorgeschlagenen Landschaften. Um den Marmarischen Gau zu erreichen, mußte das in Südsyrien befindliche Heer zuerst die Wüste nach Pelusium und dann das ganze Delta durchqueren. Einen ähnlichen Weg, Philadelphia (Rabbat Amon) – Alexandrien, hat die kleine Karavane von Tubias im Jahre 257 in 36 Tagen bewältigt⁹⁸, und das große Heer des Philopator hat die Strecke Alexandria – Raphia im Jahre 217 in drei Monaten zurückgelegt⁹⁹. Noch weiter entfernt sind die beiden übrigen Landschaften, die südlich vom zweiten Katarakt zu suchen sind¹⁰⁰. Aus den klassischen Autoren wissen wir, daß eine Reise vom Delta nach Meroe ungefähr 80 Tage in Anspruch nahm¹⁰¹.

Auch die von R.S. Bianchi vorgeschlagenen «the so-called maritime nomes» als Ziel dieses Feldzugs sind abzulehnen¹⁰². Meint der Verfasser damit die am Meer gelegenen Gaue Ägyptens, so stimmt es mit dem auswärtigen Charakter des Feldzugs nicht überein, der keinem Zweifel unterliegt.

Wahrscheinlicher sind diejenigen Vorschläge, die die Strafexpedition in Syrien ansetzen, obwohl wir allen gegenüber wesentliche Einwände formulieren können.

Auf Grund der aus Diodor (XIX 80) und dem 'Aristeasbrief' (§12-14) stammenden Angaben nimmt H. Goedicke an, daß der erste in der Stele genannte Feldzug Syrien und der zweite Palästina zum Ziel hatte¹⁰³. Den letzteren Terminus finden wir in der Stele nicht, aber der Meinung

⁹⁸ *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59075.

⁹⁹ Nach Polybios (V 79.1) zog Ptolemaios IV. aus Alexandrien mit dem Frühjahrsbeginn, also Anfang März. Aus dem Raphiadekret, Z. 10, wissen wir, daß er um den 13. Juni Pelusium erreichte.

¹⁰⁰ Über die Lage von 'Irm siehe A.J. SPALINGER, *JSSEA* 9 (1978/79), S. 145; J. VERCOUTTER, in: *Livre du Centenaire (MIFAO 104, 1980)*, S. 157ff.; J.C. DARNELL, *GM* 94 (1986), S. 17-23; D. O'CONNOR, *JEA* 73 (1987), S. 99-136.

¹⁰¹ Nach Herodot (II 175) war Sais um 20 Schiffahrtstage von Elephantine entfernt. Die Reise von Syene bis Meroe dauerte nach Plinius (*N.H.* VI 183), der sich auf Timosthenes, den Flottenbefehlshaber von Philadelphos beruft, 60 Tage. Für den letzteren Weg gibt Herodot (II 29) 56 Tage an. Vgl. die Bemerkungen von A.B. LLOYD, *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 1-98 (EPRO, 43)*, Leiden 1976, S. 57-59, 117-125; F.J. YURCO, *Serapis* 6 (1980), S. 227 Anm. 53, 228 Anm. 56. Aus *P. Edfou* 8 (G. MANTEUFFEL, *JJP* 3, 1949, S. 103-105; R. BÖHM, *L'Égypte de Varsovie [Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 31]*, Wiesbaden 1955; *SB* VI 9302) ergibt es sich, daß die Reise von Edfou bis Alexandrien 50 Tage in Anspruch nahm.

¹⁰² *LÄ V* (1984), Sp. 492.

¹⁰³ *BES* 6 (1984), S. 34.

H. Goedickes nach wird das entsprechende Fragment durch die Lesung *Iri-mi-š* die «Aramäer» klar, das er als «a reference to the Aramaic-speaking population of Palestine» versteht. Den Verlauf dieser Expedition beschreibt er folgendermaßen: «Following the campaign in Syria Ptolemy retreated through Palestine, which he devastated to 'the border of the Arameans' (southern Palestine). From there he moved on to Egypt, bringing back with him the professional soldiers». Diese Ansicht steht zu den oben angenommenen Feststellungen in Widerspruch. Es fehlen Angaben, daß sich Soter aus Syrien über Palästina zurückzog. Der Text des Josephus (*Ant.* XII 7) weist eher eine Gegenrichtung auf¹⁰⁴. Gegen Goedickes Ansicht können wir weitere Argumente anführen.

Es bleibt unklar, warum der Autor die Bezeichnung *pš tš* als «border» übersetzt. Dieser Terminus erscheint öfters im ähnlichen Kontext in dem Texten der Ptolemäerzeit, wo er austauschbar mit *pš tš* «das Land» vorkommt¹⁰⁵. Dieser Umstand scheint zu zeigen, daß *pš tš* hier eher als «Gebiet, Gau» zu verstehen ist.

Die Aramäer waren gegen Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends in Nordsyrien erschienen, wo sie eine Reihe von Staaten gründeten, von denen der südlichste seine Hauptstadt in Damaskus hatte und bis nach Hauran reichte. Die Unabhängigkeit der aramäischen Staaten beendete Tiglat-Pileasar III., der sie zwischen 740 und 732 v.Chr. eroberte. Die Assyrer unternahmen Deportationen und Verlagerungen der Bevölkerung in Syrien, so daß die Aramäer in späterer Zeit weiter südlich zu finden waren, aber keine größeren Menschenansammlungen bildeten und den von ihnen bewohnten Territorien ihren Namen nicht geben konnten. Ein festes Element in Syrien wurde über eine längeren Zeit hindurch die aramäische Sprache, von der manchmal die diese Sprache sprechenden Völker u.a. Juden genannt wurden¹⁰⁶. Die aramäisch sprechende Bevölkerung bewohnte nicht nur Palästina, sondern auch weitere Territorien Syriens¹⁰⁷. Deshalb wohl wurde der in der Bibel gebrauchte Terminus «Aramäer» in der Septuaginta als «Syrer» übersetzt, und

¹⁰⁴ Vgl. Abschnitt 5.

¹⁰⁵ Siehe unten Anm. 120 und 121.

¹⁰⁶ A. DUPONT-SOMMER, *Les Araméens*, Paris 1949; H. TADMOR, *IEJ* 12 (1962), S. 114-122; W.F. ALBRIGHT, *Emergence of the Arameans*, in: *CAH* II, Cambridge 1966, S. 46-53 (Kapitel xxxiii); M. MALAMAT, *The Aramaeans*, in: D.J. WISEMAN (ed.), *Peoples of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1973, S. 134-155; H. SADER, *Les états araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*, Tübingen 1984, S. 290-300.

¹⁰⁷ Vgl. R.A. BOWMAN, *JNES* 7 (1948), S. 65-90.

Strabon (I 2.34 [42], XVI 4.27 [784]) erklärt, daß die Syrer sich in ihrer Sprache als Aramäer bezeichneten. Wenn der Gebrauch des Terminus «Aramäer» in der Stele denkbar ist, so ist kaum anzunehmen, daß das Ziel der zweiten in der Stele genannten Expedition, von viel kleinerem Ausmaß als die erste, so allgemein formuliert werden konnte.

Im Dezember 1986 äußerte H.-J. Thissen die Vermutung, daß der in der Stele gebrauchte Terminus *'Imrtj.w* zu lesen und als «Amoriter» zu verstehen ist. Dieses Volk erschien Anfang des 2. Jahrtausends in Nordsyrien und strömte allmählich weit nach Süden¹⁰⁸. Wir wissen, daß Thothmes III. und seine Nachfolger mit ihnen kämpften. Seit Ramses II. bezeichnete man die östlichen Abhänge des Libanon und das Beqa-Tal südlich von Kadesch mit dem Terminus *'Imr*¹⁰⁹. Im Jahre 701 nennt Sennacherib die Herrscher von Samsi-Muruna, Sidon, Arwad, Byblos, Aschdod, Ammon, Moab und Edom Könige des Landes Amurru¹¹⁰. Auch die Bibel bestätigt eine ähnliche Verbreitung dieses Begriffs nach Süden¹¹¹. Im Lichte der obigen Ausführungen ist der Vorschlag von H.-J. Thissen auf den ersten Blick wahrscheinlich. Man weiß aber, daß Amurru in den letztgenannten Quellen seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung nicht mehr behielt. Der Terminus bezog sich damals auf das ganze Territorium von Syrien und Palästina¹¹², und das Gebiet von Sinai war gegen Ende des 4. Jhs. hauptsächlich von arabischen, allgemein als Nabatäer bekannten Stämmen bewohnt. Die hieroglyphischen Inschriften der Ptolemäerzeit gebrauchen zwar die geographische Terminologie, die sich auf eine weit entfernte Wirklichkeit bezieht¹¹³, die Satrapenstele benutzt aber den demotischen Wortschatz, der die zeitgenössischen Realien betrifft¹¹⁴. Deshalb müssen wir diesen Vorschlag ablehnen.

Auf den ersten Blick scheint der Vorschlag von R. Giveon, den in der Stele gebrauchten Terminus als *'Irtj.w* zu lesen und ihn als eine Bezeichnung für Araber zu verstehen, wahrscheinlich zu sein¹¹⁵. Der

¹⁰⁸ M. LIVERANI, *The Amorites*, in: D.J. WISEMAN, o.c. (Anm. 106), S. 100-133.

¹⁰⁹ H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* I, S. 70-71; A.H. GARDINER, o.c. I (Anm. 65), S. 187*-190*.

¹¹⁰ ANET² 287.

¹¹¹ F.M. ABEL, *Géographie de la Palestine* I, Paris 1933, S. 236-239.

¹¹² Vgl. M. LIVERANI, o.c. (Anm. 108), S. 120, 126.

¹¹³ Vgl. die Bemerkungen von J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Le Caire 1956, S. 106; Cl. VANDERSLEYEN, o.c. (Anm. 48), S. 117-118.

¹¹⁴ Vgl. oben Anm. 54.

¹¹⁵ Vgl. oben Anm. 72.

Autor setzt diesen Terminus mit *'Irtj.w* gleich, das in den hieroglyphischen Texten der griechisch-römischen Zeit vorkommt, die Weihrauchopfer und eine «neutralisation des ennemis» betreffen¹¹⁶. Die Texte enthalten aber keine Angaben über die Bedeutung und Lokalisierung von *'Irtj.w*. Die von R. Giveon angenommene Bedeutung ergibt sich aus der Beobachtung von J. Yoyotte, daß in diesen Texten neue Stammesnamen der Völker erscheinen, die Weihrauch und andere Aromata nach Ägypten lieferten. Diese Namen verknüpft er mit der Rolle, die die Araberstämme im Weihrauchhandel spielten¹¹⁷. Man muß aber feststellen, daß die in diesen Texten vorkommenden Schreibungen dieses Namens ganz unterschiedlich sind von denen in der Satrapenstele. Alle Belege von *'Irtj.w* stammen freilich aus Oberägypten, aber diese Diskrepanz läßt sich mit der verschiedenen Herkunft der Texte nicht erklären. Deswegen beziehen sich die beiden Bezeichnungen auf denselben Volksstamm wahrscheinlich nicht.

Die Gleichsetzung von *'Iritj.w* mit *'Irtj.w* kennen wir aus der Arbeit von R. Giveon, der diese These mit der Anmerkung: «peut-être des gens d'Elath» versehen hat, ohne jedoch irgendwelche Gründe dafür zu nennen. Die letzte Gleichsetzung entspricht den geographischen Realien. Die Entfernung zwischen Gaza und Elath, die Strecke Gaza – Elusa – Oboda (Avdat) – Elath die aus späterer Zeit bekannt ist, aber sicherlich von den Weihrauchkaravanen benutzt wurde, beträgt etwa 270-280 km¹¹⁸. Ptolemaios konnte diesen Weg benutzen, und seine Zurücklegung sowie die Durchführung einer Strafexpedition war im Laufe eines Monats, als er dort weilte, möglich.

Die obigen Interpretation erregt Zweifel. Zum ersten ist *'Iritj.w* wahrscheinlich ein Ethnikon. Die Deutung von *'Iritj.w* als Stadtbe-

¹¹⁶ 1) Philä – H. BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften* III, Leipzig 1859, Taf. IX (XII); R. GIVEON, o.c. (Anm. 72), S. 180-181;

2) Philä – H. JUNKER, *Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Wien 1958, S. 25 Abb. 13 (Phot. 185);

3) Edfu – J. DÜMICHEN, *Altägyptische Tempelinschriften* I, Leipzig 1867, Taf. LXVIII (5); E. CHASSINAT, *Le temple d'Edfou* II, Le Caire 1918, S. 216; IX, 1929, Taf. XLIIIC;

4) Ombo – J. DE MORGAN e.a., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Kom Ombo* II, Wien 1902, S. 48 Nr. 592 (Kol. 6).

¹¹⁷ R. GIVEON, o.c. (Anm. 72), S. 215-216.

¹¹⁸ Vgl. F.M. ABEL, o.c. II (Anm. 111), S. 221; M. HAREL, *IEJ* 9 (1959), S. 177-179; Y. AHARONI, *IEJ* 13 (1963), S. 30-43; R. COHEN, *BA* 49 (1982), S. 240-247. Noch später entstand die direkte Strecke Gaza–Elath, auf die sich die Anmerkung Strabons (XVI 2.30 [759]) bezieht, daß die Entfernung zwischen diesen Ortschaften 1260 Stadien (etwa 230 km) beträgt.

wohner stimmt mit der üblichen Weise der Schöpfung der Gebietsbezeichnungen nicht überein. In Ägypten wurden sie mit $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s}$ («Gau, Gebiet») + Stadtname¹¹⁹, und die auswärtigen Territorien mit $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s}$ (oder $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$ «das Land») + Gebietsbezeichnung¹²⁰ oder $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s}$ ($p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$) + Ethnikon¹²¹ gebildet. In keiner dieser Bezeichnungen finden wir die Stadtbewohner¹²², und auch dieser Vorschlag scheint unzutreffend zu sein.

Der diesen Feldzug betreffende Text läßt uns einen allgemeinen Charakter der Aktion Soters bestimmen. Wir haben dagegen keine Angaben über die Schritte der Gegenseite und sind hier nur auf Vermutungen hingewiesen. Sicher ist nur, daß diese Schritte als Angriff gegen die in Ägypten liegenden Objekte nicht zu verstehen sind. Die Formulierung der Stele erlaubt es zu vermuten, daß der Angriff direkt vor der Aktion von Ptolemaios stattfand. Keines dieser Ereignisse können wir jedoch datieren. Das ptolemäische Heer befand sich bekanntlich in Syrien seit Herbst 312, und über Winter 312/311 wurden Vorbereitungen zur Expedition von Seleukos in manchen Gebieten des Sinai geführt. Die letzteren waren sicherlich laut einer Vereinbarung mit den Nabatäern realisiert. Wegen der Bedeutung der Seleukosexpedition für Ptolemaios, von deren Ergebnissen es abhing, ob er sich in Syrien behaupten wird, mußten sie sich auf den von den Nabatäern bestimmten Bereich beschränken. Ohne Hilfe dieses Araberstammes war die Seleukosexpedition undenkbar, und deswegen können wir annehmen, daß Soter jede mögliche Maßnahme unternahm, damit die Vorbereitungen

¹¹⁹ Vgl. H. KEES, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), S. 48-49; D. MEEKS, *Le grand texte des donations du temple d'Edfou (IFAO, Bibl. d'Étude, 59)*, Le Caire 1972, S. 57 (24).

¹²⁰ Z.B. $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s}$ (n) *Bbl* «Babylonien» (*P. Berl. dem.* 13640; W. SPIEGELBERG, *Studies Griffith*, 1932, S. 171-180); $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$ *ʾrbj* «Arabien» (siehe die in Anm. 130 angegebenen Belegstellen).

¹²¹ Z.B. $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3} n\dot{3}$ *Hr.w* «das Land der Chor-Leute» (Phönicien; Kanoposdekret, demot., *Z.* 5:18); $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s}$ ($p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$) $p\dot{3}$ *ʾIsr* «das Gebiet (das Land) des Assyrsers» (Syrien; Kanoposdekret, demot., *Z.* 5:18); $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$ *Nhs* «das Land des Nubiers» (*P. Berl. dem.* 13615; W. ERICHSEN, *Klio* 34, 1941, S. 56-61); $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{3}$ *ʾIbr* (Var. *ʾjbr*, *ʾbr*) «das Land des Hebräers» (R.A. PARKER, o.c. [Anm. 66], S. 7); $p\dot{3} \dot{t}\dot{s} n$ $p\dot{3}$ *Grtj* «das Gebiet des Kreters» (*P. Cairo dem.* 31222; G.R. HUGHES, *JNES* 10, 1951, S. 256-264; R.A. PARKER, o.c., S. 11).

¹²² Deswegen müssen wir als eventuelles Ziel der Strafexpedition auch die Ortschaft Iram (aramäisch: *ʾIrm*) ablehnen, die etwa 50 km nördlich von Elath auf dem Weg nach Petra lag. Auf einer kleinen Ebene befinden sich 14 Wasserquellen. Es wurden dort ein Militärlager, eine Nekropole, ein Tempel und nabatäische Keramik entdeckt. Das einzige datierte Graffito stammt aus dem 1. Jh. v.Chr. Der Wasserreichtum und die günstige Lage (2 Reisetage von Elath) lassen vermuten, daß ein Bevölkerungszentrum dort auch früher bestehen konnte. Vgl. A. NEGEV, *ANRW* II 8 (1977), S. 585-588.

zu dieser Expedition nicht gestört werden. Es ist also wahrscheinlich, daß beide Aktionen später stattfanden.

Das Einschreiten von größeren Streitkräften im Sinai während der Seleukosexpedition änderte die ganze Situation in diesem Gebiet. Aus Mangel an Quellen ist der Verlauf der Ereignisse nicht wiederherzustellen. Wir können aber einige mögliche Gründe der Aktion Soters im Sinai oder dessen Umgebung angeben. Die vermutliche Vereinbarung Soters mit den Nabatäern schloß eine feindliche Tätigkeit zwischen ihnen nicht aus. Dieser große Araberstamm war bekanntlich in kleinere lose miteinander verbundene Bevölkerungsgruppen unterteilt, die ihre eigenen Namen führten und bestimmte Territorien behaupteten¹²³. Der Abschluß einer Vereinbarung mit einem Teil von ihnen schloß die feindlichen Beziehungen mit den übrigen nicht aus. Die Anwesenheit größerer Streitkräfte im Sinai konnte auch zu Reibereien mit der dortigen Bevölkerung führen, und Soter konnte die Kontrolle über die Situation verlieren, so daß er sich gezwungen fühlte, zu Repressalien zu greifen.

Die Aktion des Ptolemaios kann auch außerhalb des Sinai stattgefunden und seine Reaktion auf einen Angriff der Araber gegen die Seleukosexpedition auf der Wüstenstraße nach Babylon gebildet haben. Über die Nabatäer schreibt Diodor (II 48.1-2), daß sie vom Raub lebten und die Nachbarterritorien angriffen. Diese Erscheinung beschränkte sich nicht nur auf diesen Stamm. Es ist bekannt, daß die Araber eine Marschkolonie Alexanders überfielen, der eine 10-tägige Kampagne zunächst gegen sie in Antilibanon während der Belagerung von Tyros führte¹²⁴. Die alten Autoren liefern zahlreiche Beschreibungen von Raüberfällen in diesem Gebiet besonders aus späterer Zeit¹²⁵.

Einen dieser Überfälle beschreibt 1Macc 9.35-42. Nach dem Tode von Juda Machabäus im Jahre 161 v.Chr. wurde sein Bruder Jonathan zum Nachfolger. Um erfolgreiche Handlungen gegen die Seleukidenherrschaft zu unternehmen, mußte er «das Gepäck» (ἀποσκευή) los-

¹²³ E. MERKEL, *Erste Festsetzungen im fruchtbaren Halbmond*, in: F. ALTHEIM – R. STIEHL, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt I*, Berlin 1964, S. 284-285.

¹²⁴ Arrian, *Anab.* II 20; Curtius IV 2.24 (11); Plutarch, *Alex.* 24; Polyenos, *Strat.* IV 4.

¹²⁵ Vgl. E. MERKEL, *o.c.* I (Anm. 123), S. 176-177; P. BRIANT, *Brigandage, dissidence et conquête en Asie achéménide et hellénistique*, *DHA* 2 (1976), S. 163-258, 273-279; F.E. PETERS, *Romans and Bedouin in Southern Syria*, *HSPH* 88 (1984), S. 171-204; P. HÖGEMANN, *Alexander der Große und Arabien*, München 1985, S. 39.

werden, das wohl Frauen, Kinder und Herden umfaßte. Jonathan beschloß, sie an die befreundeten Nabatäer zu senden. Diese Aufgabe sollte sein Bruder Johanan an der Spitze einer Streitmacht ausführen. Dieser wurde aber unterwegs durch die «Söhne von Iambri» aus Madaba — östlich vom Jordan — angegriffen. «Das Gepäck» wurde entführt und Johanan totgeschlagen. Kurz danach rächte Jonathan den Tod seines Bruders. Er überschritt den Jordan und griff die Söhne von Iambri an, als diese eine Hochzeit feierten. Viele von ihnen wurden totgeschlagen, und der Rest fand Schutz in den anliegenden Bergen.

Man nimmt allgemein an, daß die Söhne von Iambri (Var. Amrei, Ambri) einen der arabischen Stämme bildeten, die am Rande des bestellbaren Landes ihren Sitz hatten und vom Raub unter der ansässigen Bevölkerung lebten¹²⁶. Ihr Zentrum befand sich in Madaba, von wo aus sie die Gebiete östlich vom Jordan und dem Toten Meer kontrollierten. Die oben dargestellte Episode wird auch von Josephus (*Ant.* XIII 11) beschrieben, der als den Namen dieses Stammes Ἀμαραίου παῖδες angibt. Dieser ist wohl mit Ἀμαραίου (ʾmrt) identisch, der aus späteren, aus diesem Gebiet stammenden Inschriften bekannt ist¹²⁷. J.T. Milik, der die Gesamtheit der Angaben darüber auswertete, ist der Meinung, daß «le premier ancêtre de cette nation arabe s'installa dans l'immensité du désert syro-iraquien et jordanien aux environs du début du 5ème siècle av. J.-C.»¹²⁸. Die oben genannten Namen ähneln einer der Lesungen der in der Stele gebrauchten Bezeichnung, und zwar ʾImrtj.w, was die Vermutung nahelegt, daß alle diesen Formen sich auf denselben Stamm beziehen. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, daß die Strafexpedition des Ptolemaios das von diesem Stamm bewohnte Gebiet zum Ziel hatte. Der Mangel an Angaben vom Ende des 4. Jh. v.Chr. erlaubt es nicht, dieses Gebiet genauer zu lokalisieren.

Die Ziele der ptolemäischen Feldzüge in den ägyptischen Texten waren immer sehr allgemein formuliert. Es besteht also die Möglichkeit, daß auch in der Satrapenstele eine solche Bezeichnung für den Sinai und seine nächste Umgebung als Ziel der Strafexpedition gebraucht wurde. In der griechischen Tradition wurde dieses Gebiet als Ἀραβία

¹²⁶ E. SCHÜRER, *o.c.* I (Anm. 21), S. 174; Th. FISCHER, *Beiträge zur Seleukiden-geschichte und den politischen Ereignissen in Judäa während der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.*, Bochum 1980, S. 129-130; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Roman Arabia*, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1983, S. 19-20. Vgl. auch E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 289 Anm. 187.

¹²⁷ J.T. MILIK, *Syria* 35 (1958), S. 245.

¹²⁸ *La tribu des Bani ʿAmrat en Jordanie de l'époque grecque et romaine*, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 24 (1980), S. 45.

bezeichnet. Der Terminus geht auf die frühere Geschichte dieses Territoriums zurück. Zur Assyryerzeit bildete es einen Teil der Provinz *māt Aribi* «das Land der Araber», und zur Perserzeit bestand dort ein Verwaltungsbezirk *ʿArbāya*, der die Sinaihalbinsel umfaßte und bis nach Ägypten reichte¹²⁹. Ungefähr dieselbe Bedeutung hatte wohl die demotische Bezeichnung *p3 t3 3rbj* «das Land von Arabien» aus dem 3. Jh. v.Chr.¹³⁰, die zeigt, daß der Begriff den Ägyptern bekannt war.

Die in der Stele vorhandene Schreibung zeigt eine große Ähnlichkeit mit *ʿIrm*, das ein Gebiet im Innern von Afrika bezeichnete und in der griechischen Tradition mit Ἀρβίς (Var. Ἀρβής, Ἀρβοῦς, Ἀραβίς) wiedergegeben wurde¹³¹. Laut dieser Analogie können wir die in der Stele gebrauchte Wendung als *p3 t3 ʾIrm3j.w* «das Gebiet der Araber» lesen und interpretieren. Die letztere Form weicht von der oben genannten Bezeichnung *p3 t3 3rbj* ab, obwohl die ganze Bezeichnung, ebenso wie die übrigen geographischen Bezeichnungen der Stele aus dem demotischen Sprachgut geschöpft wurde. Das heißt aber nicht, daß die Verfasser der Stele bei der Registrierung der fremden Namen denselben Prinzipien gefolgt sind, die wir im Demotischen beobachten. Dem regelrechten Gebrauch von *3* im Anlaut in den demotischen Texten entspricht die variierende Schreibung *3/i* in den hieroglyphischen¹³². Außerdem verweisen die Forscher auf den Austausch zwischen *b* und *m* in den spätägyptischen hieroglyphischen Texten¹³³.

¹²⁹ P. HÖGEMANN, o.c. (Anm. 125), S. 10-19.

¹³⁰ *P. Cairo* dem. 31169, Kol. III, Z. 25 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Denkmäler* II, S. 270-280, Taf. CIX-CXI). Weitere Belege stammen erst aus der römischen Zeit: Krugtexte, A, Z. 16, 17, 23 (W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Texte auf Krüge*, Leipzig 1912, S. 14-18, 48-51, Taf. I-IV); *P. Krall*, Kol. XVIII, Z. 26 (E. BRESCIANI, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* [MPER, 8], Wien 1964).

¹³¹ R. PIETSMANN, *RE* II (1896), Sp. 408; K. ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten*, Wiesbaden 1972, S. 84-85; K.-H. PRIESE, *Meroitica* 7 (1894), S. 487.

¹³² Über die demotische Umschrift der griechischen Eigennamen siehe W. CLARYSSE, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (*P.L. Bat.*, 24), Leiden 1983, S. 134-165. Über die hieroglyphischen Schreibungen von Alexandros, Arsinoe siehe H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois* IV, S. 200, 202, 208, 240, 243 usw., über die von Aristonikos, Apamea, Arados siehe G. DARESSY, *RecTrav* 33 (1911), S. 1-8 und 38 (1916), S. 175-179; H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* I, S. 47.

¹³³ Vgl. H. JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, Leipzig 1906, §24; W. SPIEGELBERG, *Demotische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1925, §4; H.W. FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43 (1943), S. 253 und *BIFAO* 43 (1945), S. 69, 71. Es sind hier folgende Beispiele zu nennen: *ʿIrm* / Ἀρβίς (Landschaft in Nubien; K.-H. PRIESE, *Meroitica* 7, 1984, S. 487); *Mrw.t* / *Brw.t* (Meroe; H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* II, S. 23; III, S. 12; K. ZIBELIUS, o.c. [Anm. 131], S. 106-107); *Bd3* / *Md3* (Bedja; K. ZIBELIUS, o.c., S. 133-137; K. GRZYMSKI, *GM* 58, 1982, S. 27-30); *bw* > *m3'* > *ma* (?) (Ort; W. SPIEGELBERG, l.c.); *nḥb.t* / *nḥm.t* (Lotus-Knospe;

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, daß das Ziel der Strafexpedition Soters wegen der einzigartigen Schreibweise des Terminus in der Stele, sowie wegen der spärlichen Angaben über die Aktion Soters und unserer beschränkten Kenntnis in der Bevölkerungslage im Sinai und dessen Umgebung nicht zu präzisieren ist. Die verfügbaren Quellen lassen einige Möglichkeiten zu, ohne jedoch entscheidende Argumente für eine von ihnen zu liefern.

* * *

Die in der Satrapenstele dargestellten Feldzüge wurden in der ägyptischen Konvention verfaßt, die bildliche Redewendungen benutzte und in der nicht alle Einzelheiten der Beschreibung wörtlich zu verstehen sind. Die Stele nennt ausdrücklich als Ziel des ersten Feldzugs Phönicien, aber die Beschreibung selbst betrifft nur die Gazaschlacht. Der zweite Feldzug hatte einen beschränkteren Bereich und ein geringeres Ausmaß als der erste und erst nach seinem Abschluß kehrte Ptolemaios nach Ägypten zurück. Während dieses Feldzugs kam es zu Feindseligkeiten, die eine Reaktion auf die Maßnahmen des Gegners sein sollten, die wir aber nicht genau bestimmen können. Nur auf Grund der klassischen Quellen ist die Strafexpedition im Sinai oder dessen nächster Umgebung zu lokalisieren und wahrscheinlich auf die Zeit zwischen Mitte März und Mitte April 311 v.Chr. zu datieren.

7. PTOLEMAIOS I. UND ARABIEN

Auf das Gebiet der Strafexpedition von Ptolemaios I. kann die allgemeine Beurteilung der Politik der Ptolemäer gegenüber Arabien ein gewisses Licht werfen. Die damit verbundenen Fragen sind sehr kompliziert, und es ist hier nicht der Ort, sie ausführlich zu erörtern. Ich möchte nur die Punkte berühren, die in direkter Beziehung zu der uns interessierenden Frage stehen.

Der Sinai war zur Pharaonenzeit für seine Bergwerke und die Verhütung von Kupfer bekannt¹³⁴. Wahrscheinlich wurden die Bergwerke

W. SPIEGELBERG, *l.c.*; H.W. FAIRMAN, *ASAE* 43, 1943, S. 253). Vgl. auch die von J. QUAEGBEUR, *Studi Bresciani* (1985), S. 466, angegebenen Beispiele.

¹³⁴ Die Ausbeutung war nicht durchgehend. Wir haben die Angaben über die Gewinnung von Kupfer zur Zeit der 19.-20. Dynastie (13.-12. Jh. v.Chr.) und zur Zeit

endgültig zur Perserzeit verlassen¹³⁵, was wohl mit den Migrationen in diesem Gebiet verbunden war. Im 5. Jh. v.Chr. strömte der Stamm Qedar herein, und sein Einfluß reichte bis Heroonpolis (Pithom) in Ägypten¹³⁶. Etwa 100 Jahre später wurden diese Gebiete durch die Nabatäer dominiert¹³⁷. Kupfer importierten die Ptolemäer aus Zypern¹³⁸.

Durch das Gebiet von Sinai verlief der wichtige Handelsweg, auf dem man Weihrauch und andere seltene Waren aus Südarabien beförderte. Diese wurden nach Gaza geliefert, von wo aus sie auf die ganze Mittelmeerwelt verteilt wurden. Zu Beginn der hellenistischen Epoche dominierten die Nabatäer diesen Handel. Sie hatten auch das Monopol für die Gewinnung von Asphalt aus dem Toten Meer und den entsprechenden Handel. Beide Gewinnquellen gewährleisteten den Nabatäern große Einkünfte, und wir wissen, daß die Ptolemäer an diesem Gebiet interessiert und bemüht waren, ihm ihre Kontrolle aufzudrängen.

Den Anfang der ptolemäischen Interessen für den Handel mit dem Osten datiert man auf die Periode nach der Thronbesteigung von Philadelphos¹³⁹. Dieses Datum erregt aber Zweifel. Wir haben zwar

der 22. Dynastie (8. Jh.). Vgl. M. ROSTOVZEFF, *SEH* I, S. 297; II, S. 1173-1174; A. LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (rev. J. HARRIS), London 1962, S. 202-205; B. ROTHENBERG, *Antikes Kupfer im Timna-Tal. 4000 Jahre Bergbau und Verhüttung in der Arabah (Israel)*, in: *Der Anschnitt. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur im Bergbau*, Beiheft 1, Bochum 1980, S. 181-213; B. SASS, *Abstracts of Papers, Fourth Intern. Congress of Egyptology*, Munich 1985, S. 203; R. GIVEON, *L'É* VI (1985), Sp. 593-595.

¹³⁵ Dieses Datum der Aufgabe der Kupfer- und Eisenerzbergwerke in Palästina gibt Aristes (§119) an. Wir können aber die von ihm angegebene Begründung nicht teilen, dies sei aus Angst geschehen, damit die Perser diese Bergwerke nicht besetzen.

¹³⁶ A. GROHMANN, *RE* XVI (1935), Sp. 1454; R. DUSSAUD, *Pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*, Paris 1955, S. 44-45; I. RABINOWITZ, *JNES* 15 (1956), S. 1-9; E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 168-170; W.J. DUMBRELL, *BASOR* 203 (1971), S. 33-44; A.J.R. BARTLETT, *PalEQ* 111 (1979), S. 53-66 und 114 (1982), S. 12-24.

¹³⁷ Über die Nabatäer siehe: Diodor II 48-49, XIX 94-100; F. ALTHEIM – R. STIEHL, *Berichte über die Anfänge der Nabatäer*, in: *o.c.* I (Anm. 123), 31-39; *Id.*, *Ptolemäer und Nabatäer*, *ibid.*, S. 65-79; E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 268-285; J. STARCKY, *Pétra et Nabatène*, in: *Dict. de la Bible*, Suppl. 7 fasc. 39 (1966), S. 886-1017; A. NEGEV, *ANRW* I 8 (1977), S. 519-535; H.P. ROSCHINSKI, *BJ* 180 (1980), S. 129-154; J. HORNBLOWER, *o.c.* (Anm. 34), S. 44-50, 144-150; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *o.c.* (Anm. 126), S. 12-27.

¹³⁸ Cl. PRÉAUX, *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles 1939, S. 255.

¹³⁹ Vgl. z.B. P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* I (Anm. 4), S. 177. Die ersten Angaben über die arabischen Waren im ptolemäischen Ägypten stammen aus dem Zenon-Archiv (vgl. *P.L. Bat.*, 21 [1981], Index XIII: Ἀραβικός, Ἀράβιος, Γεραῖος, Μιναῖος, Ναβαταῖος und aus der minäischen Inschrift auf dem Sarg von Zaidil (*RES* 3427; A. AVANZINI, *EVO* 11, 1988, S. 189-191 – *Pros. Ptol.* III 6348, VI 16264) aus Memphis (?). Es herrschen gegensätzliche Meinungen über das Datum des Sarges. Auf Grund der paläographischen

keine Angaben über den Handel Soters mit Arabien; es ist aber recht wahrscheinlich, daß der schon früher bestehende Handelsaustausch in seiner Regierungszeit fortgesetzt wurde. Wahrscheinlich stammen nur durch Zufall die meisten Angaben aus der Zeit des Philadelphos. Aus den früheren Abschnitten dieser Studie ist bereits bekannt, daß viele sich im Sinai abspielenden Ereignisse in den Quellen mit Stillschweigen übergangen wurden.

Interesse für Arabien zeigte schon Alexander der Große. Er fand große Mengen von Weihrauch in Gaza, die seine Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Gebiet lenkten¹⁴⁰. Schon damals wurde die Entscheidung getroffen, Arabien zu unterwerfen, was nach seiner Rückkehr aus Indien stattfinden sollte. Mit diesem Entschluß war sicherlich die Gründung einer speziellen Verwaltungseinheit mit dem Zentrum in Heroonpolis verbunden¹⁴¹, von wo aus eine Forschungsexpedition im Jahre 324 an das Rote Meer aufbrach¹⁴². In der späteren Tradition schrieb man Alexander die Gründung von Elath am Aqabagolf zu, obwohl er dort nie gewesen war¹⁴³. Es ist aber möglich, daß diese Auskunft mit der in diesem Gebiet in seinem Auftrag geführten Tätigkeit in Verbindung steht. Bekannt ist, daß zu seinen Lebzeiten von diesem Golf aus eine Forschungsexpedition in das Rote Meer zog¹⁴⁴.

Kriterien wird er ins 2. Jh. v.Chr. datiert, während das im Text vorkommende 22. Jahr des Ptolemaios, des Sohnes des Ptolemaios, auf Philadelphos hinzuweisen scheint. Vgl. H. von WISSMANN, *RE* Suppl. XII (1970), Sp. 960; A. AVANZINI, *EVO* 11 (1988), S. 190.

¹⁴⁰ Plutarch, *Alex.* 25. Arabien als Herkunftsland von Weihrauch war schon zur Zeit von Herodot (III 97) bekannt. Die Motive Alexanders für die geplante Eroberung Arabiens behandelt ausführlich P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 120-143.

¹⁴¹ Vgl. V. EHRENBURG, *Alexander und Ägypten*, in: *Polis und Imperium. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1965, S. 437-444; P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 26.

¹⁴² Theophrast, *Hist. plant.* IX 4.1-9; Arrian, *Ind.* 43.7. Vgl. P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 80-87.

¹⁴³ Theodosius (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer [*CSEL*, 39]), S. 148. Diese Ortschaft kommt schon in *1Kön* 9.26 vor, wo sie als ein in der Nähe von Ezion Geber, Hafen und Festung Salomons, liegender Ort bezeichnet wird. Vgl. M. NOTH, *Könige I. (I. Könige 1-16)*, *Biblischer Kommentar (Altes Testament, IX/1)*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1968, S. 221-222; P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 81.

¹⁴⁴ Strabon XVI 4.4 (768). Vgl. W. SCHMITTHENNER, *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974), Sp. 44-47; P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 81. Die Vermutung von F. PFISTER, *Historia* 10 (1961), S. 33, daß diese Expedition im Auftrag Alexanders von Asklepiodoros, dem Satrapen von Syrien organisiert wurde, ist wenig wahrscheinlich. Der Satrap ist nur aus Arrian (*Anab.* III 6.8, IV 7.2) bekannt, der darüber nichts mitteilt. Diese Angelegenheiten unterlagen wahrscheinlich dem Kleomenes in Ägypten. Vgl. W. SCHMITTHENNER, *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974), Sp. 47 und die Bemerkungen von P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 134.

Die Pläne, Arabien zu erobern, sind nach dem Tode Alexanders fallen geworden lassen. Ptolemaios I. setzte aber die Forschungstätigkeit fort. Wahrscheinlich zu seiner Regierungszeit unternahm Pythagoras eine große Expedition die Küste des Roten Meeres entlang und verfertigte ihre Beschreibung¹⁴⁵. Wir verfügen über Angaben, daß Hekataios von Abdera an einem Feldzug an dieses Meer teilnahm, der wohl vor 305 stattfand¹⁴⁶. Bekannt ist auch, daß der *praefectus regis* Philon an das Rote Meer zog, Äthiopien besuchte und einen Bericht darüber verfaßte¹⁴⁷. Von seiner Expedition brachte er einen großen Topazstein für die Königin Berenike mit, und die Erwähnung der Königin läßt diese Expedition auf die Zeit nach 290 datieren. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß die Umbenennung von Elath im Aqabagolf in Berenike mit dieser Tätigkeit verbunden war¹⁴⁸.

Nach der Thronbesteigung des Philadelphos wurden weitere Forschungsreisen unternommen, die die Küsten des Roten Meeres und die angrenzenden Territorien untersuchten und die für die Handelsentwicklung nötigen Siedlungen gründeten¹⁴⁹. Die meisten von ihnen folgten den ägyptischen Küsten. Bekannt ist jedoch auch die Expedition Aristons, die die arabische Küste erforschte¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁵ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16299, 16947 – Plinius, *N.H.* XXXVII 24. Die Datierung seiner Tätigkeit in die Zeit Soters ist nicht sicher. Das hier angenommene Datum schlug F. PFISTER, *Historia* 10 (1961), S. 60-61, 64, vor. Früher H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*, Berlin 1931, S. 28, und später F. GISINGER, *RE* XXIV (1963), Sp. 302-304, und W. PEREMANS, *Historia* 16 (1967), S. 448-449, datieren sie auf die Zeit des Ptolemaios III. Euergetes.

¹⁴⁶ Josephus, *C. Apion.* I 201. Vgl. oben Anm. 3.

¹⁴⁷ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16962 – Plinius, *N.H.* XXXVII 108 (*FGrHist* 670 T1). Vgl. R. LAQUEUR, *RE* XX (1941), Sp. 51 Nr. 44; F. PFISTER, *Historia* 10 (1961), S. 60-61; W. PEREMANS, *Historia* 16 (1967), S. 447; P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* (Anm. 4), I, S. 176; II, S. 296 Anm. 338. Es ist aber hervorzuheben, daß nach Plinius (*N.H.* VI 167) Philadelphos der erste war, der das Trogodytenland untersuchte, und daß nach Diodor (I 37.5) bis zur Zeit von Philadelphos kein Grieche Äthiopien erreicht hatte. Dieser Meinung der klassischen Autoren trat schon A.M. DEMICHEL, *Rapporti di pace e di guerra dell' Egitto romano con le popolazioni dei deserti africani*, Milano 1976, S. 13 Anm. 29, entgegen, die sich auf das Graffito von Potasimto aus Abu Simbel berief. Dieses nennt einen Feldzug von Psammetichos II., an dem u.a. Griechen teilnahmen. Weitere griechische Namen aus derselben Zeit sind auch in anderen Nachbargraffiti zu finden. Vgl. A. BERNAND – O. MASSON, *REG* 70 (1957), S. 1-20.

¹⁴⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* VIII 6.4 (163). Allgemein vermutet man, daß die Umbenennung dieser Stadt unter Philadelphos stattfand. Vgl. z.B. V. TCHERIKOVER, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit*, Leipzig 1927, S. 81; H. KORTENBEUTEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 145), S. 21; M. ROSTOVITZ, *SEH* I, Sp. 387; H. VOLKMAN, *RE* XXIII (1959), Sp. 1649.

¹⁴⁹ Cl. PRÉAUX, *o.c.* (Anm. 138), S. 356-359. Vgl. auch unten Anm. 174.

¹⁵⁰ *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16902 – Diodor III 42.2. Denselben Mann findet man wohl wieder

Die Expeditionen von Anaxikrates, Pythagoras und Ariston dienten sicherlich der Entwicklung des Handels mit dem Osten. Der über 2300 km lange Weg der Luxuswaren aus Südarabien verlief durch die von zahlreichen Araberstämmen bewohnten Territorien. Die an diese Stämme für Tragtiere und Versorgung entrichteten Zahlungen, sowie die Gebühren für das Durchgangsrecht steigerten den endgültigen Preis dieser Waren. Um ihren Gewinn zu vermehren, versuchten die Ptolemäer, ihre Einflüsse möglichst weit im Süden zu verankern¹⁵¹. Das Hauptzentrum ihrer Einwirkung war Dedan (Masran; El-^cUla), eine Kolonie der Minäer seit dem 4. Jh. v.Chr.¹⁵². Die engen Beziehungen zu den Minäern, die südlich von den Nabatäern ihren Sitz hatten, werfen ein gewisses Licht auf die Rolle der letzteren im Aromatenhandel. Es scheint sicher zu sein, daß diese Rolle dadurch wesentlich eingeschränkt wurde.

Diese Sachlage schloß aber die Nabatäer von diesem Handel nicht aus. Man weiß, daß eine Weihrauchstraße aus dem Süden und eine andere aus dem am Persischen Golf von Gerrhäern bewohnten Gebiet Petra erreichten. Von hier aus wurden die Waren entweder nach Gaza oder den «Königsweg» (Arabah) entlang nach Nordsyrien transportiert. Die Besetzung Syriens durch Ptolemaios und die Unterbringung einer Garnison in Philadelphia (Rabbat Ammon) auf dem «Königsweg» gaben den Ptolemäern die völlige Kontrolle über diesen Handel¹⁵³. Nach Petra und weiter nach Gaza strömten weiterhin große Mengen dieser Waren. Nach Agatharchides stammte der Reichtum des ptolemäischen Syrien vom Handel mit den Sabäern und Gerrhäern¹⁵⁴. Diodor (III 42.5) und Strabon (XVI 4.18 [776]) berichten, daß Minäer

in *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59247 vom Jahr 252. Vgl. H. KORTENBEUTEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 145), S. 20; F. PFISTER, *Historia* 10 (1961), S. 65; P.M. FRASER, *o.c.* (Anm. 4), I, S. 177; II, S. 300 Anm. 349.

¹⁵¹ Vgl. die Tätigkeit Zaidils (Anm. 139), sowie M. ROSTOVITZ, *SEH* I, S. 386-388; F. ALTHEIM – R. STIEHL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 70-71; H.P. ROSCHINSKI, *BJ* 180 (1980), S. 136.

¹⁵² H. VON WISSMANN, *RE* Suppl. XII (1970), Sp. 947-969. Eine Karawane der Minäer aus Ma'in treffen wir in Ägypten zur Perserzeit, wahrscheinlich im Jahre 343 (*RES* 3022), aber das Datum ist nicht sicher (vgl. H. VON WISSMANN, *l.c.*, Sp. 955). Auch ein genaueres Datum der ptolemäischen Einflüsse im Staat der Liyaniter können wir nicht feststellen. Möglicherweise hängen diese mit der Tätigkeit von Philadelphos zusammen. Siehe dazu A. GROHMANN, *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), Sp. 481-482; H. VON WISSMANN, *l.c.*, Sp. 962-964.

¹⁵³ Die Anwesenheit der ptolemäischen Streitkräfte im Jahre 218 ist aus Polybios (V 71.4) bekannt. Unter Philadelphos wurden in diesem Gebiet (Birta Ammanitis) Soldaten angesiedelt (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59003 aus dem Jahr 259).

¹⁵⁴ C. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci minores* I, Paris 1885, §102. Ebenso Aristeas, §114.

und Gerrhäer Weihrauch und andere Aromata nach Petra lieferten. In Südsyrien, wohl in Gaza, hatte seinen Sitz der ptolemäische Funktionär, der diesen Handel kontrollierte (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς λιβανωτικῆς)¹⁵⁵. Daher können wir annehmen, daß die Handelspolitik der Ptolemäer gegenüber dem Osten nicht die Verdrängung der Nabatäer aus diesem Handel zum Ziel hatte¹⁵⁶.

Das Ptolemäerreich umfaßte wohl das Territorium des Sinai nicht. Die Sache ist aber nicht ganz klar. Das Gebiet des Sinai wurde mit dem Namen Arabia bezeichnet. Diese Bedeutung finden wir z.B. bei Diodor (II 48.1): Ἀραβία αὕτη γὰρ κεῖται μὲν μεταξύ Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου. Der Terminus bezog sich auch auf manche Teile von Ägypten. Der um die Mitte des 5. Jh. v.Chr. reisende Herodot bezeichnet (II 158) Patumos (Pithom) als eine Stadt in Arabien, und in der späteren Zeit führte das ganze Land zwischen dem Nil und dem Roten Meer bis Pelusium diesen Namen¹⁵⁷. Zur Zeit der Ptolemäer bestand ein Gau namens Arabia, der das Gebiet um Pithom (Heroonpolis) umfaßte¹⁵⁸.

Der Terminus Arabia kommt mehrmals im 4. Jh. v.Chr. als Bezeichnung eines Teiles von Ägypten vor:

Bei der Organisation der Satrapie von Ägypten im Jahre 331 vertraute Alexander Kleomenes von Naukratis die Verwaltung von Arabien um Heroonpolis (Ἀραβία ἡ πρὸς Ἡρώων πόλει) an¹⁵⁹.

Während der Beratungen in Babylon im Jahre 323 wurde dem Ptolemaios nach Arrian (*Succ. – FGrHist* II 156 F1.5): Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην καὶ ὅσα τῆς Ἀράβων γῆς ξύνορα Αἰγύπτῳ eingeräumt, während Justin (XIII 4.10): *Aegyptus et Africae Arabiaeque pars* (manche

¹⁵⁵ *Pros. Ptol.* V 13401a, VI 15721 – *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59009 (Bd. IV, S. 285) Frg. d11; *PSI* VI 628 l. 3 (um 259). Vgl. U. WILCKEN, *APF* 8 (1927), S. 277; V. TCHERIKOVER, *Mizraim* 4/5 (1937), S. 26.

¹⁵⁶ Die Meinung von F. ALTHEIM – R. STIEHL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 72, daß die Nabatäer aus diesem Handel ausgeschlossen wurden, findet in den Quellen keine Bestätigung.

¹⁵⁷ Herodot II 8; Strabon XVII 21 (803), 30 (806), 34 (809), 46 (816); Plinius, *N.H.* V 12.

¹⁵⁸ *P. Rev.* 31.9, 65.12, 66.2. Es scheint wenig wahrscheinlich, wie das W. HELCK, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Wiesbaden 1974, S. 198, und *LÄ* II (1977), Sp. 401, annimmt, daß die ägyptische Bezeichnung *j3btj/pr j3btj* «Osten» eine Rückübersetzung des Arabia ins Ägyptische darstellt. Jedenfalls bestand schon im Alten und Mittleren Reich die Provinz *i3bt.t* «Osten», die Heliopolites und Bubastites umfaßte. Vgl. H. GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* I, S. 18; G. POSENER, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e dynastie*, Paris 1956, S. 35-36.

¹⁵⁹ Arrian, *Anab.* III 5.2, 4.

Handschriften: *Asiae Libiaeque*), und Curtius (X 10.1): *Aegypti et Africae gentium que in dicione erant*, Dexippos (*FGrHist* II 100 F8): Αἴγυπτος πᾶσα καὶ Λιβύη καὶ ἡ ἐπέκεινα γῆ ὁπόση Αἰγύπτῳ συνάπτει nennen¹⁶⁰.

Für die Reichseinteilung in Triparadeisos im Jahre 320 haben wir nur das Zeugnis von Arrian (*Succ.* – *FGrHist* II 156 F9.34): Αἴγυπτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα ταύτης τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ὃ τι περ ἄν πρὸς τούτοις ὁρίον ἐπικτήσῃται πρὸς δυομένου ἡλίου Πτολεμαίου εἶναι.

Im Jahre 311 wurde die Satrapie Αἴγυπτος καὶ αἱ συνοριζοῦσαι ταύτῃ πόλεις κατὰ τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν bezeichnet¹⁶¹.

Die obigen Formulierungen erlauben es nicht, den Verlauf der ägyptischen Grenze im Gebiet des Sinai zu bestimmen. Es ist denkbar, daß der Terminus Arabia in der überlieferten Organisation Ägyptens durch Alexander einen Gau bezeichnete. Möglicherweise umfaßte er — ebenso wie später — das Gebiet um Heroonpolis. Auf diese Ausdehnung von Arabien scheint auch der Text Arrians hinzuweisen. Der Gau bildete jedoch nur einen sehr kleinen Teil des Niltales, und es ist wenig wahrscheinlich, daß die alten Autoren in ihren Beschreibungen diesen Teil mit Libyen zusammenstellen konnten. Diese Bedeutung von Arabien ist daher für die nächsten Reichsteilungen undenkbar.

Die Frage des Grenzverlaufs gewinnt ein wenig an Klarheit, wenn wir die einzelnen Formulierungen historisch beurteilen. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Ausdehnung der von Alexander bestimmten Satrapie mit der der Perserzeit identisch war. Der Sinai gehörte damals keiner Satrapie an und bildete gewissermaßen ein unabhängiges Gebiet¹⁶². Bekannt ist, daß Kambyses ein Bündnis mit den Arabern schloß, um einen Angriff gegen Ägypten unternehmen zu können¹⁶³. Alexander beabsichtigte das ganze Arabien zu erobern, aber sein Tod vereitelte diese Pläne, und der Sinai blieb unerobert¹⁶⁴. Wir haben keinen Grund

¹⁶⁰ Er verwechselt aber wohl die Satrapieneinteilung des Jahres 323 mit der des Jahres 320. Vgl. E. WILL, *AC* 29 (1960), S. 371 Anm. 8; A. MEHL, *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/81), S. 191 Anm. 52.

¹⁶¹ Diodor XIX 105.1.

¹⁶² Herodot III 88, 97; Diodor II 1.5, 48.4-5. Vgl. E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 167-168; P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 125), S. 13-17.

¹⁶³ Herodot III 4-8. Es ist zu bemerken, daß die Araber an dem Angriff des Artaxerxes III. gegen Ägypten im Jahre 343/342 nicht teilnahmen (Diodor XVI 46.5).

¹⁶⁴ Nach E. WILL, *AC* 26 (1960), S. 371, umfaßte dagegen die Satrapie damals «les confins libyens du Delta, et ses confins arabes (c'est-à-dire la région de l'isthme et, peut-être, du Sinai)».

anzunehmen, daß die ägyptische Ostgrenze in der nächsten Satrapienverteilung im Jahre 323 korrigiert wurde. Manche Quellen übergehen freilich Arabien mit Stillschweigen; dies ist aber wohl mit der von ihren Verfassern angenommenen Tradition in Verbindung zu bringen¹⁶⁵. Dieselbe Situation müssen wir für die Teilung des Jahres 320 annehmen. Unsere einzige Quelle, Arrian, nennt Arabien in seinem Text nicht. Er führt es weder als einen Teil Syriens, eine Satrapie des Laomedon, an, noch deutet er auf eine andere Weise an, daß eine Änderung im Grenzverlauf stattfand, wie er es bei der Beschreibung mancher anderen Satrapien tut. Sicher ist, daß die Satrapie des Ptolemaios damals nicht verkleinert wurde. Nach Diodor (XVIII 39.5) räumte Antipatros Ptolemaios das ein, was dieser schon besaß, weil es unmöglich war, ihn zu beseitigen, und es schien, daß er Ägypten dank seiner Tüchtigkeit, als ob mit der Lanze erobert, festhielt¹⁶⁶. Im Jahre 311 bestimmte Antigonos die Satrapiengrenzen. Bekanntlich versuchte er die Nabatäer zu unterwerfen. Als seine Bemühungen scheiterten, schloß er ein Abkommen (σύνθεσις) mit den Arabern, in dem er seinen Interessenbereich feststellte¹⁶⁷. Es ist anzunehmen, daß er Soter den Sinai nicht abtrat. Nur im letzten Fall ist sicher, daß Arabien einen Teil Ägyptens zwischen dem Nil und dem Roten Meer umfaßte. Es ist möglich, daß dieselbe Bedeutung in den früheren Satrapienverteilungen gemeint ist, und daß demgemäß der Sinai der ägyptische Satrapie nicht angehörte.

In der späteren Zeit war die südliche Grenze der ptolemäischen Besitzungen in diesem Gebiet mit der Grenze des anbaufähigen Landes im Gebiet von Marisa identisch und umfaßte den Landstrich um die

¹⁶⁵ E. WILL, *AC* 26 (1960), S. 369-390 verknüpft das Fehlen von Arabien mit dem Bestehen von zwei verschiedenen Traditionen für die Beschreibung dieser Satrapie. Die eine umfaßte zwei Elemente (Ägypten + Libyen), die andere drei Elemente (Ägypten + Libyen + Arabien). Gegen diese Auffassung meldete jedoch Fr. BIZIÈRE, *REG* 87 (1974), S. 369-374, einige Einwände an. Vgl. auch J. HORNBLLOWER, *o.c.* (Anm. 137), S. 50-51.

¹⁶⁶ Deshalb können wir mit F.M. ABEL, *RB* 48 (1939), S. 217, und *o.c.* (Anm. 29), S. 26: «Il n'est plus question d'Arabie parce que l'intention des administrateurs de l'empire était d'arrêter Ptolémée de ce côté-là et de réserver les droits de Laomedon, satrape de Syrie», nicht einig sein. Die Meinung Abels teilt aber A. MEHL, *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/81), S. 193. Über den Text Arrians vgl. die Bemerkungen von E. WILL, *AC* 26 (1960), S. 380-386, sowie oben Anm. 163.

¹⁶⁷ Diodor XIX 97.3-98.1, 100.1. Im Rahmen dieses Abkommens lieferten wohl die Araber Antigonos Dromedare für seinen Feldzug gegen Ägypten im Jahre 306 (Diodor XX 73.3).

südlichen Küsten des Toten Meeres¹⁶⁸. Unklar bleibt jedoch die Situation im Gebiet von Elath.

Wir verfügen über keine direkten Angaben über die Beziehungen Soters mit den Nabatäern. Die von ihm organisierte Seleukosexpedition nach Babylon, die ohne eine Zusammenarbeit mit den Arabern undenkbar war, zeigt, daß diese bis dahin korrekt war.

Mit der Situation im Sinai ist das Fragment von Arrian, *Ind.* 43.4-5 in Verbindung zu bringen:

καὶ οἱ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου παρὰ Σέλευκον τὸν Νικάτορα σταλέντες ἐς Βαβυλῶνα διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας ἰσθμόν τινα διαπορευθέντες ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτὼ ταῖς πάσαις ἄνδρον καὶ ἐρήμην χώραν ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ καμήλων σποῦδῃ ἐλαύνοντες ὕδωρ τέ σφιν ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέροντες καὶ νυκτοπορέοντες· τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας ὑπαίθριοι ἀνέχεσθαι διὰ καῦμα ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν.

«...and those who were sent from Ptolemy Lagus to Seleucus Nicator at Babylon through Arabia crossed an isthmus in a period of eight days and passed through a waterless and desert country, riding fast upon camels, carrying water for themselves on their camels, and travelling by night, for during the day they could not come out of shelter by reason of the heat» (Loeb).

Das Fragment enthält keine datierenden Elemente und keine Angaben über den Anlaß dieser Expedition. Auf Grund der zwischen Seleukos und Ptolemaios bestehenden Beziehungen kann die in diesem Text dargestellte Expedition in die Zeit zwischen der Seleukosexpedition und der Schlacht bei Ipsos eingebaut werden¹⁶⁹. Man vermutete, daß Ptolemaios mittels der in diesem Fragment genannten Expedition entweder eine militärische Unterstützung¹⁷⁰ oder eine Botschaft¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ U. WILCKEN, *APF* 6 (1920), S. 393; K.J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte* IV, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, S. 326-327; W.W. TARN, *JEA* 14 (1929), S. 15; A.H.M. JONES, *o.c.* (Anm. 46), S. 255, 454 Anm. 38; A. NEGEV, *The Nabataeans and the Provincia Arabia*, *ANRW* II 8 (1977), S. 530-531; Cl. ORRIEUX, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec*, Paris 1985, S. 98.

¹⁶⁹ Vgl. z.B. J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (Anm. 32), S. 183 Anm. 20. L. SCHÖBER, *o.c.* (Anm. 32), S. 128, hebt hervor, daß Ptolemaios keinen Grund hatte, Seleukos eine militärische Unterstützung in den Jahren 307-301 zu leisten. Nicht überzeugend ist die Argumentation von W.W. TARN, *CR* 40 (1926), S. 13-15, der diese Episode kurz vor der Ipsoschlacht anbringt. Ins Jahr 311 datiert sie dagegen P. HÖGEMANN, in: *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell' opera* II, Perugia 1986, S. 166, indem er dort eine ausführliche Untersuchung darüber verspricht. Aus einem Brief dieses Autors erfahre ich jedoch, daß er wegen anderer Pflichten die Bearbeitung des Problems aufgeben mußte.

¹⁷⁰ Z.B. J. SEIBERT, *o.c.* (Anm. 32), S. 183 Anm. 20; L. SCHÖBER, *o.c.* (Anm. 32), S. 128-129; P. HÖGEMANN, *o.c.* (Anm. 169), S. 167.

¹⁷¹ Z.B. B. NIESE, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeroneia* I, Gotha 1893, S. 311 Anm. 7; W.W. TARN, *CR* 40 (1926), S. 13-

nach Babylon sandte. Beide Ansichten können einigermaßen präzisiert werden, wenn wir die im Text Arrians enthaltenen Angaben im historischen Kontext untersuchen.

Die Seleukosexpedition nach Babylon war eines der Elemente der gemeinsam von Ptolemaios und Seleukos unternommenen Offensive. Die Aufgabe des letzteren war es wohl, einen neuen Kampfplatz gegen Antigonos zu schaffen, der dem Ptolemaios die Behauptung Syriens ermöglichen konnte. Man weiß aber, daß Seleukos kurz nach der Eroberung von Babylon nach Osten zog, wo er größere Mittel und Streitkräfte zum Kampf gegen Antigonos zu gewinnen versuchte. Ptolemaios wurde jedoch in dieser Zeit von Antigonos gezwungen, Syrien zu räumen. Die geplanten Ziele der beiden Feldherren wurden also nur teilweise erreicht. Antigonos blieb weiterhin ihr gemeinsamer Feind, von koordinierten Handlungen gegen ihn konnte aber nicht mehr die Rede sein.

Die Besetzung Syriens durch Antigonos beschränkte drastisch die Möglichkeit der Beziehungen zwischen Seleukos und Ptolemaios. Für die Kontakte zwischen ihnen war die Lage im Gebiet von Petra von Belang, weil jede Expedition durch diese Ortschaft ziehen mußte. Antigonos schloß über Demetrios ein Abkommen mit den Nabatäern, von dessen Einzelheiten nur bekannt ist, daß Demetrios Geisel nahm. Dieses Abkommen sicherte wohl die Interessen von Antigonos in dieser Region, besonders gegen die Einflüsse oder das eventuelle Eingreifen des Ptolemaios.

In dieser Sachlage scheint es sicher zu sein, daß keine militärische Unterstützung an Seleukos nach Abschluß dieses Abkommens denkbar war. Es ist hervorzuheben, daß nur eine beschränkte Anzahl von Soldaten (etwa 1000 Mann) einmalig auf dem Wüstenweg nach Babylon gesandt werden konnte. Diese Menge war ohne größere Bedeutung für breit angelegte Kämpfe. Sie war aber äußerst wichtig, wenn Seleukos sie kurz nach seiner Ankunft in Babylon erhalten konnte.

Das Abkommen mit den Nabatäern enthielt wohl keine speziellen Mittel zur Sperrung des Verkehrs zwischen Ptolemaios und Seleukos, dessen frühere Expedition nach Babylon für Antigonos unbekannt blieb. Nach dem Abschluß dieses Abkommens scheint es jedenfalls nicht mehr möglich gewesen zu sein, daß Seleukos militärische Unter-

15. Nach A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *o.c.* I (Anm. 44), S. 56, und A. MEHL, *o.c.* (Anm. 32), S. 128 Anm. 50, sind beide Möglichkeiten denkbar.

stützung geleistet werden konnte. Ein beschränkter Austausch von Anordnungen war jedoch unter gewissen Umständen auch nach dem Abschluß dieses Abkommens möglich. Eine kleine Anzahl von Menschen konnte wohl durch das Territorium der Nabatäer und mit ihrer Hilfe ziehen, ohne von Antigonos bemerkt zu werden. Diese Möglichkeit hing aber von der Einstellung der Nabatäer zu Ptolemaios ab. Diese war entschieden feindlich, wenn die von der Satrapenstele bekannte Strafexpedition gegen die Nabatäer gerichtet war.

Außerst wichtig ist hier die Anmerkung Arrians, daß die von ihm geschilderte Expedition wegen der Hitze nur in der Nacht vorrückte. Damit liefert er einen Hinweis auf das Datum dieses Unternehmens, und ist wohl nicht auf die Zeit zwischen dem Aufbruch der Seleukosexpedition um Mitte März und der Besetzung Syriens durch Antigonos gegen Aprilende zu beziehen¹⁷². Sie muß später stattgefunden haben. War dem wirklich so, dann müssen wir die Möglichkeit ausschließen, daß Ptolemaios eine militärische Unterstützung an Seleukos leistete. Es kommt also nur die Sendung einer Abordnung in späterer Zeit in Frage. Diese scheint darauf zu verweisen, daß Ptolemaios in guten Beziehungen mit den Nabatäern war, und legt die Vermutung nahe, daß die frühere Strafexpedition nicht gegen diesen Araberstamm gerichtet war.

Mit der Herrschaft des Philadelphos verknüpft man gewöhnlich die feindlichen Beziehungen mit den Nabatäern. Die Auskünfte darüber stammen von Diodor (III 43.4-5) und Strabon (XVI 4.18 [777]). Im allgemeinen bringen beide dieselben Angaben, nur ist der Text Diodors ausführlicher. Dieser Autor teilt (III 38.1) mit, daß er in seiner Beschreibung des Roten Meeres die Königsarchive (ὁπομνήματα βασιλικά) in Alexandrien und die Berichte der Augenzeugen (αὐτόπται) benutzt habe, wobei er hervorhebt, daß dieser Teil der bewohnten Welt allgemein wenig bekannt sei. In den weiteren Kapiteln seines Werkes beruft er sich jedoch mehrmals auf Agatharchides von Knidos, der in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. v.Chr. eine Arbeit über das Rote Meer

¹⁷² Dies ist nicht ganz sicher. E. WIRTH, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde*, Darmstadt 1971, S. 99-105, macht darauf aufmerksam, daß die Lufttemperaturen in diesem Gebiet in manchen Jahren von der üblichen Durchschnittstemperatur abweichen. Der in dieser Gegend reisende A. MUSIL notierte am 3. April 1909, daß seine Expedition früh morgens aufbrach, aber «from 11.42 to 1.28 p.m. we rested in the ravine of Ramzet al-ʿErž. The heat was unbearable even though the sun was obscured...by gray clouds...» (*Arabia Deserta. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1927, S. 245).

verfaßte (in Auszügen des Photius erhalten)¹⁷³. Es fällt auf, daß das uns interessierende Fragment über die Nabatäer bei Diodor vorkommt, aber bei Agatharchides fehlt. Es stellt sich deshalb die Frage nach den wirklichen Quellen Diodors. Von den seit Anfang der Ptolemäerherrschaft ins Rote Meer gesandten Expeditionen wurden bekanntlich Berichte verfaßt, die in Alexandrien aufbewahrt und in späterer Zeit benutzt wurden. Im Fall des genannten Fragments Diodors ist es nicht möglich, seine Quellen zu bestimmen und sie zu datieren¹⁷⁴.

Die bisherige Datierung der feindlichen Beziehungen der Ptolemäer mit den Nabatäern auf die Regierungszeit des Philadelphos stützt sich vor allem auf einen Aufsatz von W.W. Tarn, der seine Schlüsse in hohem Grade auf den aus der Pithom-Stele stammenden Angaben aufbaute¹⁷⁵. Es wird dort eine Expedition des Philadelphos genannt, die dieser Forscher auf das Rote Meer bezieht und auf das Jahr 278 datiert. Die Stele erwähnt auch die Anwesenheit von Philadelphos und Arsinoe in Heroonpolis, wo sie gewisse Maßnahmen trafen, um die ägyptische Herrschaft dort zu verteidigen. Beide Ereignisse fanden in Wirklichkeit im Jahre 274 statt und waren mit dem ersten syrischen Krieg verbunden. Die genannte Expedition hatte jedoch das «Philistinen-Land» (*p3rslt*) zum Ziel¹⁷⁶.

Diodor teilt mit, daß die Nabatäer nach der Entwicklung der Schifffahrt auf dem Roten Meer durch die Könige in Alexandrien die ägyptischen Schiffe überfielen, daß aber diesem Unwesen durch eine ptolemäische Expedition später ein Ende bereitet wurde. Die Entwicklung der Schifffahrt auf dem Roten Meer ist sicherlich mit der Tätigkeit des Philadelphos zu verknüpfen¹⁷⁷. Es ist aber hervorzuheben, daß diese Schifffahrt hauptsächlich die ägyptischen Küstengewässer benutzte und deswegen die genannte Aktivität der Nabatäer wenig wahrscheinlich ist¹⁷⁸. Der Beschreibung Diodors ist auch zu entnehmen, daß auf

¹⁷³ Entsprechende Fragmente beider Werke sind bei C. MÜLLER, o.c. (Anm. 154), S. 123-193, untereinander gestellt.

¹⁷⁴ Diese Fragen erörtert W. PEREMANS, *Historia* 16 (1967), S. 432-455.

¹⁷⁵ *JEA* 15 (1929), S. 16. Ähnlich z.B. H. VOLKMANN, *RE* XXIII (1959), Sp. 1649; P.M. FRASER, o.c. (Anm. 4), I, S. 177; II, S. 300 Anm. 350.

¹⁷⁶ Siehe darüber meinen Aufsatz *Bericht von einem Feldzug des Ptolemaios Philadelphos in der Pithom-Stele*, *JJP* 20 (1990), S.157-167.

¹⁷⁷ Vgl. Cl. PRÉAUX, o.c. (Anm. 138), S. 355-359. W. PEREMANS, *Historia* 16 (1967), S. 447-454, nennt zahlreiche Expeditionen unterschiedlichen Charakters, die sich nach Süden begaben.

¹⁷⁸ Dies heben besonders F. ALTHEIM – R. STIEHL, o.c. (Anm. 123), S. 59-70, hervor.

dem Roten Meer ein intensiver Osthandel getrieben wurde, zur Zeit des Philadelphos ebenfalls wenig wahrscheinlich¹⁷⁹.

Diodor fügt hinzu, daß sich am Laeanitischen Golf (Aqabagolf) zahlreiche Dörfer befanden, die von den als Nabatäer bekannten Arabern bewohnt waren. An anderer Stelle (XIX 94.4) gibt er jedoch an, daß die Nabatäer im Jahre 311 etwa 10.000 über den ganzen Sinai und dessen Umgebung verstreute Menschen zählten. Es ist kaum möglich, daß diese Menge im Laufe von etwa 50 Jahren bis zum Ende der Regierung Philadelphos' so angestiegen war, daß seine Beschreibung sich auf diese Periode beziehen konnte. Man weiß auch, daß die Lihyaniter in der Zeit vom 5.-3. Jh. v.Chr. ihren Sitz am Aqabagolf hatten und erst die spätere Expansion der Nabatäer sie beseitigt oder so weitgehend beherrscht hatte, daß diese Dörfer als nabatäisch bezeichnet werden konnten¹⁸⁰.

Außerdem sind wohl in dem Bericht Diodors zwei Entwicklungsstufen der nabatäischen Seeräuberei zu unterscheiden. Zuerst raubten sie nur die gescheiterten Schiffe und erst später organisierten sie spezielle Raubexpeditionen. Eine solche Entwicklung nahm sicherlich viel Zeit in Anspruch. Es ist denkbar, daß ihre zweite Stufe erst mit der Entstehung des Nabatäerreiches verbunden war.

Im Lichte der obigen Ausführungen wird klar, daß die feindlichen Beziehungen zwischen den Ptolemäern und den Nabatäern sich im 2. Jh. v.Chr. abspielten, als der Sinai dem Seleukidenreich angehörte¹⁸¹.

Aus den klassischen Quellen wissen wir, daß die assyrischen, persischen und makedonischen Könige trotz ihrer zahlreichen und mit größeren Streitkräften unternommenen Versuche nicht imstande waren, die Araber zu unterwerfen (καταδουλώσασθαι)¹⁸². Die Keilschriftquel-

¹⁷⁹ Bemerkenswerterweise übergehen E. VAN 'T DACK – H. HAUBEN, in: *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des intern. Symposions*, Mainz 1978, S. 64, die den Seeverkehr auf dem Roten Meer erörtern, die Navigation im 3. Jh. v.Chr. mit Stillschweigen.

¹⁸⁰ Die Daten sind nicht sicher. Die Siedlungen der Lihyaniter am Aqaba-Golf nennt nur Plinius (*N.H.* VI 156), dessen Quellen sich auf den Anfang der hellenistischen Epoche beziehen könnten. Auf die Bevölkerung bezieht sich jedoch auch der Name Λαιανίτης κόλπος (u. Var.), der von den klassischen Autoren benutzt wird. Vgl. A. GROHMANN, *RE* XVI (1935), Sp. 1456; H. VON WISSMANN, *RE* Suppl. XII (1970), Sp. 962-969.

¹⁸¹ Ebenso A. NEGEV, *ANRW* II 8 (1977), S. 539; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *o.c.* (Anm. 126), S. 21. Früher nahm Cl. PRÉAUX, *o.c.* (Anm. 138), S. 357, an, daß der Feldzug zwar von Philadelphos organisiert, doch die Seeräuberei nach der im 2. Jh. v.Chr. bestehenden Situation dargestellt wurde.

¹⁸² Diodor II 1.5, 48.4-5; Herodot III 88.

len bestätigen diese Auskunft. Die babylonischen Könige besetzten nur zeitweise manche Territorien Arabiens¹⁸³. Zur Perserzeit wurden die Araber als unabhängig betrachtet; sie lieferten den Persern den Weihrauch nicht als Tribut sondern als Geschenk¹⁸⁴. In der hellenistischen Epoche beobachten wir nur zwei erfolglose Feldzüge des Antigonos Monophthalmos gegen die Nabatäer. Später finden wir die Araber im Ptolemäer- und Seleukidenheer, hervorgehoben werden dabei die freundschaftlichen Beziehungen mit ihnen¹⁸⁵. Es ist kaum möglich, ohne genaue Untersuchungen die Gründe dieser Sachlage anzugeben. Wir können nur vermuten, daß deren wichtigste Gründe die schweren Lebensbedingungen auf dem größten Teil des Territoriums und die damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten waren, zahlreiche Garnisonen zu unterhalten. Das tritt besonders klar in dem Bericht Diodors über die mißlungenen Feldzüge des Antigonos gegen die Nabatäer hervor.

Ptolemaios war sich sicherlich dessen bewußt. Das von Alexander gegründete Zentrum zur Erforschung von Arabien in Heroonpolis, das die Eroberung dieses Landes vorbereiten sollte, mußte in seinem Programm nicht nur die Erforschung der Küsten, sondern auch die im Landesinneren bestehenden Lebensverhältnisse umfassen. Die bis zum Tode Alexanders geführten Forschungen mußten zwangsläufig in die Hände des Ptolemaios geraten. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der Leiter einer der im Auftrag Alexanders durchgeführten Expedition, Anaxikrates, den man später an der Seite von Seleukos findet, eine Zeit lang am Hofe des Ptolemaios verbrachte¹⁸⁶.

Die obige Übersicht von manchen Aspekten der Ptolemäerpolitik erlaubt es anzunehmen, daß diese Herrscher eine Okkupation des Sinai nicht anstrebten. Vieles weist darauf hin, daß auch Soter von ähnlichen Voraussetzungen ausging. Viel schwieriger ist es, seine Beziehungen mit den Nabatäern zu bestimmen. Die Hauptquelle ihres Einkommens war der Handel mit dem Osten, den die Ptolemäer später erfolgreich zu kontrollieren und ihre Rolle in diesem Handel zu beschränken wußten. Diese Maßnahmen wurden sicherlich von den Nabatäern nicht freundlich zur Kenntnis genommen. Es bleibt unklar, in welchen Grade die genannten Kontrollen und Einschränkungen am Anfang der Regie-

¹⁸³ Vgl. T.W. ROSMARIN, *JSOR* 16 (1932), S. 5.

¹⁸⁴ Herodot III 91. Vgl. E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 171.

¹⁸⁵ E. MERKEL, *o.c.* (Anm. 123), S. 175-176.

¹⁸⁶ Tzetzes, *Chil.* VII 118, 176-180 (174). Vgl. W. SCHMITTHENNER, *RE* Suppl. XIV (1974), Sp. 47.

rungszeit von Ptolemaios ins Leben gerufen wurden. Bekannt ist, daß Soter im Jahre 319 Syrien eroberte, sich erst im Jahre 317 dort festigte und schon 314 dieses Gebiet verlassen mußte. In dieser Zeit unternahm er zweifelsohne die Organisation dieser Provinz, auch im Bereich der Königseinkünfte — unter anderen für den Handel mit Aromaten. Wir können aber vermuten, daß die damalige Kontrolle des ganzen wirtschaftlichen Lebens jenen Grad der Vollständigkeit und drückenden Belastung, die uns aus Ägypten in der Zeit des Philadelphos bekannt ist, noch nicht erreichte, um einen Widerstand der Einwohner von Sinai auszulösen. Deswegen ist es wahrscheinlich, daß die Seleukosexpedition nach Babylon und die spätere Botschaft an Seleukos auf die korrekten Beziehungen Soters mit den Nabatäern hinweisen, und daß die aus der Satrapenstele bekannte Strafexpedition diesen Araberstamm nicht betraf. Die letztere ist wohl außerhalb des Sinai anzusetzen.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Periode von ungefähr einem Jahr, die in diesen Studien behandelt wurde, umfaßt die folgenden Ereignisse:

Herbst 312

1. Gazaschlacht.
2. Rückzug des Demetrios nach Nordsyrien.
3. Besetzung der phönikischen Städte durch Ptolemaios mit seinen Truppen.

Winter 312/311

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Reorganisation, Sammlung und Schulung des neuen Heeres des Demetrios in Syrien und Kilikien. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4a. Vorbereitungen zur Seleukosexpedition nach Babylon. |
|---|---|

März (?) 311

5. Rückkehr des Demetrios nach Obersyrien.
6. Expedition des Killes.
7. Aufbruch des Seleukos über Petra nach Babylon (von Ptolemaios begleitet).

April (?)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Niederlage des Killes. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8a. Aktion gegen Seleukos (Ptolemaios?) im Sinai oder dessen Umgebung. |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>9. Antiptolemäische Aktionen in Koilesyrien.</p> <p>10. Repressivhandlungen des Ptolemaios in Koilesyrien.</p> <p>11. Ankunft des Antigonos in Syrien.</p> <p>Mai (?)</p> <p>12. Rückzug der ptolemäischen Truppen aus Syrien.</p> <p>13. Besetzung Syriens durch Antigonos.</p> <p>Juni (?)</p> <p>14. Feldzug des Athenaios gegen die Nabatäer.</p> <p>15. Korrespondenz des Antigonos und sein Vortäuschen freundschaftlicher Beziehungen zu den Nabatäern.</p> <p>Juli (?)</p> <p>16. Feldzug des Demetrios gegen die Nabatäer.</p> <p>17. Versuch der Asphaltgewinnung aus dem Toten Meer.</p> <p>August</p> <p>18. Eroberung der Festung in Babylon im Monat Abu (29.07 – 28.08).</p> <p>19. Sieg des Seleukos über Nikanor.</p> <p>20. Eingang der Nachricht über die babylonischen Erfolge des Seleukos in Syrien.</p> <p>21. Feldzug des Demetrios nach Babylon.</p> <p>Nach dem August 311</p> <p>22. Verhandlungen des Antigonos mit der Koalition.</p> <p>23. Friedensschluß des Antigonos mit der Koalition.</p> | <p>9a. Strafexpedition des Ptolemaios im Sinai oder dessen Umgebung.</p> |
|--|--|

Die meisten hier angenommenen Daten sind unsicher. Die einzigen Zeitpunkte, an denen sie orientiert werden konnten, sind die Gazaschlacht im Spätherbst 312 und die Eroberung der Festung in Babylon wahrscheinlich Anfang August 311. Sicher scheint auch, daß Seleukos nach dem Aufbruch der Killesexpedition nach Babylon zog und nach dem 3. April (1. Nissan) 311 dort eintraf. Die Daten der übrigen Ereignisse sind nur mutmaßlich.

Die obige Zusammenstellung weicht von derjenigen ab, die im Abschnitt 2 angegeben wurde. Deren Grundlage waren die Angaben bei Diodor (XIX 89-105) und in der Diadochenchronik. Oben wurde sie durch die Angaben aus Diodor (II 48.1-2), Arrian (*Ind.* 43.4-6), Hekataios von Abdera (*FGrHist* III 264), Agatharchides von Knidos (*FGrHist* I 86), Aristes (12-14, 22-25, 35-40), Appian (*Syr.* 50 [252], 54 [273-274], 56 [286]), Josephus (*Ant.* XII 3-9, XIII 11; *C. Apion.* I 186-

187, 194, 209-210, 214), Plutarch (*Demetr.* 5), Plinius (*N.H.* VI 146), *1Macc* (9.35-42) und aus der hieroglyphischen Satrapenstele ergänzt.

Diodor nennt die meisten oben angeführten Ereignisse, übergeht aber manche von ihnen (4a, 8a, 9, 9a, 18, 19, 22) auf der Seite des Ptolemaios und Seleukos mit Stillschweigen, ändert die Reihenfolge (10, 11, 12), oder läßt manche Details (7) unbeachtet. In seinem Bericht folgt er wohl Hieronymos von Kardia, der Augenzeuge der meisten von ihnen war. Dieser befand sich aber immer auf der Seite von Antigonos und Demetrios; über die Maßnahmen der Gegenseite war er sicherlich weniger orientiert. Mit diesem Umstand und gegen die Meinung von Josephus ist sein Schweigen über die Ereignisse in Palästina und im Sinai zu verbinden. Wir wissen auch von Diodor (III 38.1), daß die allgemeine Kenntnis der Gebiete am Roten Meer schwach war, und ihre Erforschung erst zur Zeit Alexanders begann.

Zwei Leitgedanken dienten als Grundlage der obigen Feststellungen:

1. Wegen der gleichen, einander bedingenden Vorteile waren der Feldzug des Ptolemaios nach Syrien und die Expedition des Seleukos nach Babylon ein gemeinsam geplantes und realisiertes Unternehmen der beiden Feldherren.
2. Der Sieg einer der Seiten im Kampf um die Herrschaft über Syrien lieferte dessen Bevölkerung der Gnade oder Ungnade des Siegers aus. Weil diese Bevölkerung sich ihm mit Waffen in der Hand nicht entgegensetzen konnte, erklärte sie sich immer für den Sieger.

In den verfügbaren Quellen sind beide Punkte kaum greifbar. Bekannt ist aber, daß die alten Autoren, die mit Vorliebe Kriege und Schlachten darstellen, die Gründe, Ziele und Beurteilungen der konkreten militärischen oder politischen Handlungen sehr unklar formulieren oder sie mit Stillschweigen übergehen.

GOVERNMENT, MANAGEMENT, LITERACY

Aspects of Ptolemaic Administration in the Early Hellenistic Period*

When studying the Ptolemaic administration, one oscillates between on the one hand a number of quite general and often repeated remarks and questions (concerning e.g. continuity between Ptolemaic and Persian and Pharaonic Egypt, or the influence of certain Greek political theories upon the Ptolemaic system) and on the other hand very detailed studies on the activity of a particular official, in a particular area of Egypt, at a particular time (for there are great differences between the 3rd and 1st centuries B.C. in the Ptolemaic administration — the obvious example being that of the στρατηγός, who developed from military head to the highest military *and civil* authority in the nome, also in charge of the revenues, ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων).

A split of another kind is inherent in all our documentation in Greek (papyri as well as literary sources) which, while dealing with Egyptian *Realien*, does so in a language different from Egyptian, and therefore must translate these *Realien* into Greek, thus inevitably incurring any number of ambiguities. That is quite embarrassing when we come to the titles, numbers, ranks and functions of officials in the Ptolemaic administration.

This kind of schizophrenia is of course inherent in the analytical character of documentary papyri — but can, I believe, be overcome by hard thinking and suggestive observations. I shall mention one such important observation. It comes from W. Clarysse¹ and concerns the value of the onomastic criterion as applied by W. Peremans in his series of studies on Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and admini-

* This paper was first read at the International Summer School of Papyrology (Institute of Classical Studies, London, July 1988). I wish to thank Professor Herwig Maehler for inviting me to take part in that most stimulating occasion; Dr. Jane Rowlandson for discussing certain points with me; Dr. Dorothy J. Thompson for a thorough revision and many a suggestion for improvement on the original text; and the anonymous reader of the present journal for some stimulating comments and essential bibliographical references.

Journal abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

¹ *Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration*, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), p. 57-66.

stration². Clarysse has drawn attention to some instances of double names in the 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. in which «the names seem not to indicate the ethnic origin of the bearer, but rather to relate to the *function* an individual held in the administration or in the army»³; in other words, an individual might (though he did not necessarily have to) use a Greek or Egyptian name upon taking an office, depending on whether that particular office was felt to be Greek or Egyptian in character. For instance: an ἀγορανόμος or a banker were felt to be 'Greek' offices, therefore an ἀγορανόμος or a banker would (nearly) always use a Greek name when acting in his official capacity, even though he may not have been Greek. Inevitably, then, a general survey of all ἀγορανόμοι and bankers will lead to the (possibly false) conclusion that they were all Greeks⁴. I suggest that for the time being we stop asking whether a particular official in the Ptolemaic administration was Greek or Egyptian, and rather concentrate on the question whether his *function* was felt to be Egyptian or Greek in character.

Considerations of this kind call for a «multiple view»⁵ of both individuals and offices in Ptolemaic Egypt. But one needs to locate good angles from which such a multiple view can eventually be had. One such angle, as regards the Ptolemaic administration, may be the introduction of a new official language (i.e. Greek) in the administration of Egypt, as a consequence of the Greek occupation. A remarkable flexibility, however, was shown toward the continued use of demotic⁶:

² W. PEREMANS, *Égyptiens et étrangers dans l'administration civile et financière de l'Égypte ptolémaïque*, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45; *Égyptiens et étrangers dans le milieu d'Alexandrie au temps des Lagides*, *AncSoc* 7 (1976), p. 167-176; *Les indigènes égyptiens dans l'armée de terre des Lagides. Recherches anthroponymiques*, *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 83-100; *Notes sur l'administration civile et financière de l'Égypte sous les Lagides*, *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 139-149; *Égyptiens et étrangers dans l'organisation judiciaire des Lagides*, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/1983), p. 147-159.

³ W. CLARYSSE, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), p. 58. It may be noted here that W. Peremans himself became increasingly aware of the perils inherent in the onomastic criterion: cfr. *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 146: «Évidemment il faut se demander si nous sommes bien sûr d'avoir repéré tous les noms doubles. ... Le danger de se tromper est ... réel».

⁴ That «the function of banker, like that of agoranomos, was regularly held in the later Ptolemaic period by hellenized Egyptians» is convincingly shown by W. CLARYSSE, *A Banker's Name in Early Roman Thebes*, *Sacris Erudiri* 31 (1989-1990), p. 78; see also below, p. 220. On the ἀγορανόμοι see P. W. PESTMAN, *L'agoronomie: un avant-poste de l'administration grecque enlevé par les Égyptiens?*, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*. Akten des intern. Symposions September 1976 in Berlin, edd. V.M. STROCKA -H. MAEHLER, Mainz 1978, p. 203-210.

⁵ W. Clarysse, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), p. 66.

⁶ W. PEREMANS, *Über die Zweisprachigkeit im ptolemäischen Ägypten*, in *Studien zur*

a flexibility which may well have increased in time. One is reminded of Euergetes II's decree of 118 B.C.⁷, establishing that the language in which the relevant documents were written would decide which tribunal was to judge a case⁸. On the other hand, there had been a precedent in Egypt which made this innovation in language less traumatic than one might at first think it to be: under the Persian domination, Aramaic (a language other than Egyptian) had been the official language in Egypt.

Besides, it has often been remarked that Greek culture and people were by no means unknown in Egypt. There had been Greek travellers in Egypt since the time of the Seven Sages, then Hecataeus, and of course Herodotus, and many after him. A demotic papyrus (*Dem. Papyrus Mallawi Inv.-Nr. 480*)⁹ even attests the presence of Greeks in the administration as early as the Saite period (575 B.C.; the Greek in question is called Ariston). Soon afterwards, Greek communities were established at Memphis (the Hellenomemphites) and Naukratis (the only free port of trade in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt) by Amasis (570-526) for the Greek mercenaries enlisted by Psammetichus I (664-610 B.C.) in his fight to expel the Assyrians from Egypt. Again, Amasis «made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover, he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence» (Hdt. II 181)¹⁰. Tachos (or Taos), briefly Pharaoh of Egypt (between 363 and 361), and his nephew Nektanebo II both engaged Greek mercenaries while fighting against Persia. Help from Agesilaos and his Spartans was essential to keep Nektanebo in power. Chabrias, an Athenian who had been in the service of Akoris between 384 and 382, when this Pharaoh revolted against Persian domination, was called back by Tachos (twenty years later) under similar circumstances. Judging from the relevant passages in the

Papyrologie und antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte Friedrich Oertel zum achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet, Bonn 1964, p. 49-60; *Le bilinguisme dans les relations gréco-égyptiennes sous les Lagides*, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven 24-26 May 1982 (*Studia Hellenistica*, 27), Leuven 1983, p. 253-280.

⁷ *P. Tebt.* I 5 ll. 207-220.

⁸ Whether Greek χρηματισταί or Egyptian λαοκρίται: cfr. W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/83), p. 147-159.

⁹ O.M. ZAGHLOUL, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermupolis*, *Bull. Center Papyrol. Stud.* 2 (1985), p. 23-24 (no. 1).

¹⁰ Translation A.D. GODLEY (*Loeb Classical Library*), vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1920. The wife was Laodike; under the Ptolemies, Cyrene was of course united with Egypt.

pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*¹¹, Chabrias proved himself to be a shrewd economic adviser. It is intriguing to see how the sharp-eyed Peripatetic who wrote the second book of the *Oeconomica* extrapolates case stories concerning Chabrias¹², i.e. recipes for draining revenue from Egypt, often at the expense of the local priesthood: all the more intriguing as we know of that other Peripatetic, Demetrius of Phaleron, who held a very influential position at the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

Thus Greeks were known in Egypt as valiant soldiers, merchants, and shrewd economic advisers, some of them having lived there for centuries, others having been employed against the much hated Persians. The Graeco-Macedonian conquest was an easy one from the military point of view, and the adoption of Greek as the official, though by no means the only admissible, language in the administration was a matter of course.

The Ptolemies themselves spoke only Greek, except for Cleopatra VII, whose fluency in the several languages spoken in multiethnic¹³ Egypt was, according to Plutarch¹⁴, not the least of her assets. We may also remember that at the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) both Ptolemy IV Philopator and his adversary (Antiochus III) needed interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς), evidently in order to address the non-Greek components of their armies¹⁵.

There is every reason to believe that the administrative and cultural circles nearest to the sovereigns were exclusively Greek-speaking. A passing reference to eminently Greek institutions such as the Library and the Museum of Alexandria must suffice here. Certain Egyptians, though, in the upper levels of society (such as the historian Manetho, the poet Isidorus, the high priest Petosiris) did speak and even write Greek (in the case of Manetho and Isidorus).

Polybius, besides supporting what Plutarch says of the Ptolemies' lack of knowledge of the Egyptian language, also provides us with a clear case when a linguistic problem would arise. There would be

¹¹ Ps.-Arist., *Oecon.* 25a; 25b; 37; a parallel episode to *Oecon.* 25b in Polyæn. III 11.5.

¹² But also Cleomenes: §33, see below.

¹³ Polyb. V 83.

¹⁴ *Ant.* 27.

¹⁵ Polyb. V 83. It will be remembered that the ἑρμηνεῖς were one of the seven classes into which Egyptians were divided according to Hdt. II 164: «priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters (ἑρμηνεῖς), and pilots».

occasions when help and cooperation on the part of the natives was felt to be necessary, indeed essential (as we know was the case at Raphia). Not all such occasions would be as dramatic as the battle of Raphia; nevertheless, important and urgent matters would be concerned (one thinks e.g. of agricultural activities in relation to the Nile flood). At such times, an effort had to be made to communicate with the local population.

If we go back to the policy of Alexander himself in this regard, reference to Arrian (*Anab.* III 5) is almost compulsory. Here events at Memphis in 331 B.C. are dealt with:

«He (Alexander) then made his arrangements for Egypt; he appointed two Egyptians, Doloaspis and Petesis, as *nomarchs*, dividing the whole country of Egypt between them; Petesis, however, declined the power, and Doloaspis took it all»¹⁶.

As has often been remarked, Alexander was apparently aware of the need for cooperation on the part of the natives, if the country was to be governed efficiently, i.e. according to the long established practices which, particularly in the case of Egypt, were firmly dictated by the nature of the country itself: one had to «govern ... in accordance with the ancient practices», as said a little further on in the same passage.

On the other hand, not all Egyptians were willing to cooperate. Petesis was apparently one of them — and the fact that Doloaspis was then left in charge of the whole country might even be interpreted as indicating that no other Egyptian¹⁷ was available as a second nomarch, at least for the time being. Of course, not just any Egyptian would do: somebody from the upper strata of Egyptian society was needed, one willing to help the inexperienced conquerors administer his own country.

Military power was in any case firmly in the hands of Macedonian ἑταῖροι, with garrisons at Pelusium and Memphis, and command over the mercenaries stationed in the country — while Apollonios son of Charinos and Cleomenes of Naukratis were entrusted with, respectively, the government of Libya (including Cyrene, presumably) and of Arabia-

¹⁶ Translation P.A. BRUNT (*Loeb Classical Library*), vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1976 (my italics)

¹⁷ Indeed, J. YOYOTTE, *Le nom égyptien du 'ministre de l'économie' – de Saïs à Méroé*, *CRAI* 1989, p. 73-88, notes that Doloaspis was presumably «un ci-devant fonctionnaire perse d'après son nom» (p. 82). If so, the only native Egyptian 'collaborationist' (Petesis) would have soon dropped out, while at this initial stage power apparently had to be entrusted to two 'foreign settlers' like Cleomenes and Doloaspis. For Cleomenes, see here below.

near-Heroonpolis (alias Pithom, in the Delta, and controlling an important Eastern approach to Egypt)¹⁸. Moreover,

«He (Cleomenes) was instructed to permit the nomarchs to govern their own districts (τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας ἔαν ἄρχειν τῶν νομῶν) in accordance with the ancient practices (καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθιεστήκει) but to exact the tribute from them himself (αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους), while they were ordered to pay it over (ἀποφέρειν) to him».

The nomarchs, then, are firmly subordinated to Cleomenes: while being left to do the governing and the tax collecting in the country for him (which they could certainly do better than any Greek could), they were then to pay everything over (ἀποφέρειν) to Cleomenes, who was instructed to «exact the tributes from them» (ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φόρους).

The bad press Arrian gives to Cleomenes elsewhere¹⁹ nevertheless confirms how powerful (therefore more in danger of making an evil use of his power) he was: «Cleomenes, a rascal who had been guilty of many wrongful acts in Egypt ...»; and a little further on: «... a man who was ruling a large and populous area, ... (but) the man was wicked».

Alexander had in fact been aware of this danger:

«It is said that he (Alexander) divided the government of Egypt between many officers (κατανεῖμαι ἐς πολλοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου) as he was strongly impressed by the character and defensibility of the country, and did not think it safe to entrust the command (ἐπιτρέψαι ἄρχειν) of all Egypt to one man»²⁰.

Ptolemy later solved the problem by having Cleomenes killed as soon as he arrived in Egypt²¹.

In Alexander's arrangements for Egypt, his problems were those typical of any conquest which aims to go beyond mere military occupation. Assistance from at least a part of the natives is needed, especially at an early stage in the occupation, if the resources of the newly conquered land are to be exploited to the full advantage of its conquerors. The latter must nevertheless always remain in control of the actual military and economic power; but while the military occupation of a

¹⁸ The «Canal of the East», first dug under Necho, in the 7th century, then redredged by Darius I, and dredged once again under Ptolemy II: cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. *Pithom*.

¹⁹ *Anab.* VII 23; cf. Demosth., *C. Dionysodor.* 386; Ps.-Arist., *Oecon.* 11, 33.

²⁰ Arrian., *Anab.* III 5.

²¹ Paus. I 6.3.

country can, to a certain extent²², be effectively performed without knowledge of its language and customs, administration is a different matter. A thorough competence in the φύσις, the nature, and in the culture of the country was mandatory, if one was to supervise competently the administration of Egypt as it was performed by the native νομάρχαι. The acquisition of such a competence, however, required time; in addition, it depended to a large extent on the natives' willingness to make themselves and their country known to the conquerors.

In 331 B.C., a man like Cleomenes (and no doubt other Greeks from Naukratis, and Memphis²³, though of course in lower positions) represented a precious short-cut through this cluster of problems: he was a Greek, but not a newcomer to Egypt, for he was a Greek from Naukratis (by now a three-centuries-old Greek settlement in Egypt) and therefore — it may be presumed — knew the ways (and the language?) of the country better than any other Greek could. And something like a Greek precedent for him could even be claimed to have existed in the recent Egyptian past: Chabrias, the Greek economic adviser to two Pharaohs.

As to the function of the νομάρχαι, one is reminded of Grenfell's interpretation of the title νομάρχης, first put forth in his edition of the *Revenue Laws*²⁴, and then restated in a note to *P.Tebt.* I 61(b) l. 46, where we read: «... the nomarchs were originally not chiefs of the 'nome' but chiefs of the 'distribution' (νέμω) of crops, ... it is very doubtful whether ... the nomarch ever came to mean 'chief of the nome', as has been generally supposed. In the instances where the nomarch is mentioned in Roman times he is concerned with the administration of the royal revenues in various ways; but the explanation of his exercise of these functions is to be looked for in the position of the nomarch in the earlier Ptolemaic period, when he was one of the chief revenue officials, being concerned with the important duty of looking after the crops, especially those of the βασιλική γῆ». This may

²² Problems of endemic resistance were never really overcome under the Ptolemies, as the Potter's Oracle testifies: cf. L. KOENEN, *Die Prophezeiung des 'Töpfers'*, *ZPE* 2 (1968), p. 178-209; ID., *The Prophecies of a Potter: a Prophecy of World Renewal*, in *Proc. XII Intern. Congr. Pap.*, Toronto 1970, p. 249-254; cf. F. UEBEL, *Ταραχή τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*, *A/P.* 17 (1962), p. 147-162.

²³ Hellenomemphitae may in fact have been more thoroughly Egyptianised: cf. A. SWIDEREK, *Sarapis et les Helleno-memphites*, in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux*, Bruxelles 1975, p. 670-675.

²⁴ B.P. GRENFELL, *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (P. Rev. Laws)*, Oxford 1896, p. 133. This papyrus has been reedited by J. BINGEN, *SB*, Beiheft 1, Göttingen 1952.

in turn be consistent with A.E. Samuel's suggestion²⁵ that the title νομάρχης may be understood to indicate a *rank* to which one was appointed, rather than refer to the area (a particular district, νομός) over which one had authority.

The question of the number and function of the νομάρχαι is a much debated one²⁶: here we are trying rather to grasp what was the function of the two nomarchs (soon reduced to one, but then again referred to in the plural just a few lines on) in Arrian's story: the meaning «chief(s) of the distribution» seems appropriate here. «Chief of the distribution» (νομάρχης = νέμω + ἄρχω) would then concern a very broad competence, the νομάρχης being at the head of the distribution (after measurement) of land and, consequently, of the crops to be grown thereon, which inevitably made him the first in charge of the apportionment of taxes to be paid on land production, and of the actual collecting of revenues to be paid into the royal treasury.

Νομάρχης is in fact the standard term found in Greek authors to indicate the official concerned with the administration of the royal revenues in pre-Ptolemaic Egypt, to begin with Herodotus (II 177):

«It was Amasis .. who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the νομάρχης»²⁷.

The second book of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* also mentions νομάρχαι²⁸ in connection both with Chabrias, under the Pharaoh Tachos (§25b), and with Cleomenes under Alexander's rule (§33a)²⁹. Paragraph 25b reads³⁰:

«When Tachos was on the point of setting out from Egypt, Chabrias advised him to make requisition of all uncoined gold and silver in the

²⁵ *The Internal Organization of the Nomarch's Bureau in the Third Century B.C.*, in *Essays in Honor of C.B. Welles (American Studies in Papyrology, 1)*, Ann Arbor 1966, p. 213-229.

²⁶ Objections to Samuel's hypothesis were put forth by F. UEBEL, *BO* 28 (1971), p. 337 ff., and by J.D. THOMAS, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (see n. 4 above), p.187-194; R. SEIDER, *Beiträge zur ptolemäischen Verwaltungsgeschichte. Der Nomarches. Der Dioiketes Apollonios*, Heidelberg 1938, first dealt with these questions.

²⁷ A.D. GODLEY translates: «ruler of his province», thus aligning himself with the many who understand νομάρχης to be «chief of the nome».

²⁸ In the plural, which may stand for just two, as in Arrian (but of course we have no way of knowing this with any certainty).

²⁹ Cleomenes is here said to be Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, in view of the essential role he played in the foundation of Alexandria: §33c.

³⁰ G.C. ARMSTRONG's translation (*Loeb Classical Library*), Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1935, slightly modified.

possession of the inhabitants, and when most of them complied, he bade the king make use of it, and refer the lenders to the νομάρχαι³¹ for compensation out of the taxes (ἐκ τῶν φόρων)».

That the nomarchs under Tachos administered the royal revenues could not be more clearly stated. On the other hand, Chabrias, a Greek, obviously interfered in the use to which part of these φόροι was to be put: a fact which deserves our attention, as it foreshadows later developments. The same combination of responsibility for the φόροι on the part of the νομάρχαι, and of interference by a Greek who happens to be in a position which entitles him to do so, is in fact found in §33a. Here the conflict between nomarchs and Cleomenes surfaces clearly:

«While Cleomenes of Alexandria was governor (σατραπεύων) of Egypt, at a time when there was some scarcity in Egypt, but elsewhere a grievous famine, he forbade the export of grain. On the νομάρχαι³² representing that if there were no export of grain they would be unable to pay in their taxes (φόροι), he allowed the export, but laid a heavy duty (τέλος ... πολὺ) on the corn. By this means he obtained a large amount of duty from a small amount of export, and at the same time deprived the officials of their excuse (αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς νομάρχας πεπαῦσθαι τῆς προφάσεως)».

The nomarchs were certainly more than two in number according to Diodorus (i.e. Hecataeus of Abdera, Diodorus' source for Egypt)³³, but they are said to have very much the same responsibilities as in the sources previously examined: i.e. they are in charge of the royal revenues (τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν), and their office is clearly felt to be thoroughly Egyptian in character. Here is Diodorus I 54.3:

«And dividing the entire land into thirty-six parts (μέρη) which the Egyptians call nomes (ἃ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι νομούς), he (the Pharaoh Sesoosis) set over each a nomarch (ἐπέστησεν ἅπασιν νομάρχας) who should superintend the collection of the royal revenues (τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν) and administer all the affairs of his division (καὶ διοικήσοντας ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας μερίδας)»³⁴.

³¹ G.C. ARMSTRONG translates: «governors of his provinces».

³² G.C. ARMSTRONG translates: «local governors».

³³ *FGrHist* 264 F25; cf. F. JACOBY, *Hekataios*, in *Griechische Historiker*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 227-237 (= *RE* VII, col. 2750-2769).

³⁴ C.H. OLDFATHER's translation (*Loeb Classical Library*), vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.) – London 1933.

Compare Diodorus I 73.1:

«And since Egypt as a whole is divided into several parts (ἐς πλείω μέρη) each of which in Greek is called nome (κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ὀνομάζεται νομός) over each of these a nomarch is appointed who is charged with both the oversight and care of all its affairs (νομάρχης ὁ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔχων ἐπιμέλειάν τε καὶ φροντίδα)»³⁵.

The Greek terms which Diodorus employs with reference to administration in Egypt are much the same as those we find in the papyri, either in more formal titles (note διοικήσοντας, νομάρχης, μερίς) or in less specific ones. These are indeed the terms which the Greek language had at its disposal as the equivalents for Egyptian titles and functions, and for naming new ones which the Ptolemies found it useful to introduce.

If, then, according to Diodorus/Hecataeus, there had been nomarchs for each of the thirty-six nomes in Egypt since time immemorial³⁶, we may still ask how they were called in Egyptian, and whether they perhaps received a different Egyptian title from that of the just one or two officials also called νομάρχαι by Herodotus and Arrian. This hypothesis, advanced by J.D. Thomas³⁷, may be of some general use for those cases in the Ptolemaic administration where subordinate officials are found to bear the same title as a higher official. In all such cases, it may well be correct to ask what were their titles in Egyptian, even though such questions are extremely difficult to answer³⁸. Diodorus (that is, presumably, Hecataeus) is himself aware of this problem of translation of the title of an Egyptian official into Greek. This is shown

³⁵ This passage might concern the system as it operated when Hecataeus (possibly Diodorus' source here) visited Egypt, toward the end of the 4th century B.C.

³⁶ Note, however, that no precise figure is given in the second passage, which may point to a different division of the country at the time of Hecataeus' visit to Egypt: cf. Edda BRESCIANI, *La spedizione di Tolomeo II in Siria in un ostrakon inedito da Karnak*, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (see n. 4 above), p. 31-37.

³⁷ See n. 26 above.

³⁸ Cf. the ground-breaking contribution by W. PEREMANS – E. VAN 'T DACK, *L'équivalent grec du titre Šḥn*, in *Prosopographica (Studia Hellenistica, 9)*, Louvain-Leiden 1953, p. 95-104, and, more recently, the survey by W. CLARYSSE, *Greek Loan-Words in Demotic*, in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies. Leiden, 19-21 September 1984, ed. by S.P. VLEEMING, Leuven 1987, p. 9-33; see also here below, p. 215 f.

by his incidental clauses «which the Egyptians call nomes» (I 54) and «which in Greek is called nome» (I 73)³⁹.

Diodorus/Hecataeus has an intriguing way of describing the nomarch's activity at the head of the nome:

I 54.3: νομάρχας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ διοικήσοντας ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας μερίδας.

I 73.1: νομάρχης ὁ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔχων ἐπιμέλειαν τε καὶ φροντίδα.

In the first passage the nomarch is said (first) to be in charge of the royal revenues and (second) to administer all affairs in his district. The second passage is more concise, but it preserves a distinction between ἐπιμέλεια and φροντίς which may respond to the division, in the first passage, between being in charge of the revenues (ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν προσόδων // ἐπιμέλειαν) and the general administration of the district (διοικήσοντας ἅπαντα // φροντίδα).

Now, from what Arrian and Ps.-Aristotle say, it seems to me that of these two functions ascribed to the nomarch in Egypt before Alexander's conquest, one was left to the νομάρχαι, while the other was transferred to Cleomenes (and later, under the Ptolemies, to the διοικη-

³⁹ On the other hand, one should beware of multiplying officials bearing the same Greek title by hypothesising that they were operating at different (hierarchical-geographical) levels, like, for instance, the different οἰκονόμοι who have been sometimes postulated to operate not only in the μητροπόλεις of the nomes, but even at village level — a matter deserving more careful investigation.

Another problem with the Ptolemaic administration is indeed the sometimes bewildering proliferation of officials and titles, many of these non-specific ones, such as (to take just a few examples from Index V to the first volume of the *Tebtynis Papyri*) ὁ ἐπιμελητής, οἱ κεχειρικότες, οἱ πραγματευόμενοι, οἱ προεστηκότες, and the like, which are reminiscent of certain turns of phrases we have observed in Diodorus. Some such non-specific titles, at least, may be the Greek mirror-image of a title first thought of by and for the Egyptian administration, while upon other occasions we may just have a variation, and a more general formulation for the standard title.

Another consideration may help to reduce the number of officials in the Ptolemaic administration, i.e. that — as observed by A.E. SAMUEL, *art. cit.* — certain titles may be combined by one and the same official, especially as some declined in significance (i.e. the actual power behind the label) as time went by (an example may be that of the στρατηγός and νομάρχης and ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων in the 1st century B.C.). One should, however, be careful with this criterion, too, and avoid over-simplification. The fact that a certain official could accumulate several titles does not imply that such titles must, from a certain point in time, always fall upon one and the same person. It does matter that a certain function was still felt to be distinctive, and to have its own character, so much so that the title for it remained in use. It could then be only one assigned to an official, or at other times be accumulated with other tasks and titles of the same official, and even re-emerge as itself, i.e. after a time of under-usage (like the nomarch in Roman times).

τής: note in fact the term διοικήσοντας in Diodorus). Namely, the nomarchs would be in charge of organization in view of production and revenue collection⁴⁰. But revenues would eventually come to the διοικητής, and it would be for him actually to administer the country as a whole. That is to say, the nomarch's office (an office Egyptian in character) may be described as having an executive power: governmental resolutions, however, were for the (Greek) διοικητής to take⁴¹.

In Ps.-Aristotle's *Oeconomica* II 33a, Cleomenes is said to be σατραπεύων in Egypt. Soter had Cleomenes killed (Paus. I 6.3), and took over his position as σατραπεύων⁴², which he kept until he officially assumed the kingship (7 November 305). On that occasion, he apparently took care to make the title 'satrap' void. There was to be no satrap after Soter in Egypt: nobody who, from his vice-regal position, could aspire to the sovereign's authority (as Soter himself had done, after all), and no title which explicitly declared its own Persian origin. The Ptolemies needed in fact to place themselves securely in the tradition of the native Pharaohs. Once the 'satrap' had vanished, the financial administration (what Diodorus would probably have called φροντίς) had to be transferred to another authority, namely the διοικητής or chief finance minister⁴³. Yoyotte has conclusively shown that the Egyptian term for διοικητής was *senti*: «néologisme qui paraît surgir vers 500 avant notre ère ... pour désigner une institution qui n'existait pas auparavant»⁴⁴. He is inclined to assign this new institution to the Pharaoh Amasis (570-526), mainly on account of the

⁴⁰ Cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, *De nouvelles archives de familles thébaines à l'aube de l'époque ptolémaïque*, in *Actes du XV^e Congrès intern. de Papyrologie*. Quatrième partie. *Papyrologie documentaire*, Bruxelles 1979, p. 40-48: concerning demotic archives dating from the transitional period beginning with Alexander's conquest. These archives show that at this time the high fiscal officials were still Egyptians (p. 47: «Ces nouvelles archives nous apprennent qu'à la date de leur rédaction les hauts fonctionnaires de la fiscalité étaient toujours des Egyptiens, situation qui a changé sous Ptolémée I^{er}»).

⁴¹ J. BINGEN, *Économie grecque et société égyptienne au III^e siècle*, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (see n. 4 above), p. 216 n. 17.

⁴² Cf. the hieroglyphic 'Satrap Stela' of 311 B.C. (translated in E. BEVAN, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 1927, p. 28-32), and the Greek marriage-contract *P. Eleph.* I, ll. 1-2; see also A.K. BOWMAN, *Egypt after the Pharaohs*, London 1986, p. 22 f.

⁴³ The monarch, however, still «stood at the head of government as much more than a mere figurehead; he was the chief executive, his authority acted as a control on his officials and, in concept at least, he was accessible to his subjects in a very direct relationship» (A.K. BOWMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

⁴⁴ J.D. THOMAS, *art. cit.* (n. 26 above), p. 191-192. We know that the Seleucids also had διοικηταί from an early point of their history (E. BIKERMAN, *Institutions des Séleucides*, Paris 1938, p. 129); they probably inherited this post from the Persians.

testimony of the second *sentī* (in chronological order) who is known to us. This was Hor, the son of Oudjahorresne, who claimed to descend from the very first *sentī* Harkhebi, a contemporary of Amasis. On the other hand, the Seleucids also had διοικηταί very early in their history⁴⁵, a fact which induces Yoyotte to conclude, with some caution, that «La *διοίκησις* hellénistique trouve au moins sa préfiguration, voire son modèle général, dans l'Égypte des Perses et des derniers pharaons nationaux»⁴⁶. It is in fact conceivable that νομάρχης in Hdt. II 177 is a Greek translation of the Egyptian title *sentī*; if so, the Greek term apparently came to indicate a different post after Alexander came to Egypt, the *sentī*'s functions being split between a (Greek) διοικητής with managerial power, and two (or more) νομάρχαι with executive power. In this case, *sentī* would have naturally remained the Egyptian title for the single most important official among them, i.e. the διοικητής. This would also be consistent with the fact that «the demotic scribes consciously tried to translate rather than to transliterate the Greek vocabulary»⁴⁷; it may reasonably be assumed that they would especially tend to do so when referring to the most important official in the country, and as there had in fact been an Egyptian equivalent for this position. Eventually a (Graecized) Egyptian, Arkhebi *alias* Archibios, became *sentī* (a statue commemorates him as such)⁴⁸, i.e. διοικητής (attested in *P.Tebt.* I 61b)⁴⁹.

The case of the *sentī*/διοικητής shows that there could well be a demotic name for what was felt to be a Greek office⁵⁰. One might even take such 'translations' as evidence for the fact that Egyptians (at least those Egyptians who would and could 'hellenize') were not entirely estranged from these offices; as a matter of fact, Egyptian individuals did eventually hold both of them⁵¹. On the other hand, a series of official titles was transliterated into demotic: significantly, these had

⁴⁵ E. BIKERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ J. YOYOTTE, *CRAI* 1989, p. 81. In any case, there would have been a foreign *sentī* throughout the Persian domination of Egypt.

⁴⁷ W. CLARYSSE, in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (n. 38 above), p. 12.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. YOYOTTE, *CRAI* 1989, p. 74 and 88.

⁴⁹ Statue Kansas City 47.12. The identification has been suggested by J. YOYOTTE *CRAI* 1989, p. 82ff.: it requires that the statue be re-dated to the later Ptolemaic period, and not to the reign of Ptolemy II, as is usually done on the analogy with another statue (Cleveland 48.141) which B.V. Bothmer attributed to the reign of Ptolemy II.

⁵⁰ Cf. also J. VERGOTE, *Bilinguisme et calques en Égypte*, in *Atti del XVII Congresso intern. di Papirologia*, Napoli 1984, p. 1389, for a translation of the Greek word τράπεζα.

⁵¹ Bankers: cf. W. CLARYSSE, *Sacris Erudiri* 31 (1989-1990), p. 77-84; see above, n. 4.

mainly to do with those areas (financial administration, Greek legal system, military control) which were most alien to the native Egyptians⁵². In any event, most of these titles were also usually translated in demotic: «only for οἰκονόμος, πράκτωρ and especially στρατηγός the Greek terms are generally used»⁵³.

Diodorus' continuous narrative stops for us in 301 B.C., while Polybius resumes from 265 B.C. This blank, covering the whole of Ptolemy I Soter's reign, is *not* filled in by our Greek papyrological documentation, which only becomes substantial in the '70s of the 3rd century B.C., well into Ptolemy II's reign (285-246 B.C.). As regards literary sources, this is due primarily to our misfortune in the transmission of Diodorus' text. But the lack of Greek papyri⁵⁴ must rather be explained on the ground that the administrative system had not yet been definitely set up, and was not yet sufficiently well-oiled as to produce the wealth of documents that has come down to us from the later periods of Ptolemaic history. An administrative language had to be developed, *in Greek*, for regulating and recording Egyptian traditional practices as well as innovations imposed by the Greek conquest, before documents could be written in that language. But for it to develop, the Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt first had to learn their bearings there, and manage to communicate fluently with the natives. This, quite naturally, took approximately two generations to achieve⁵⁵.

Eventually, what may be called an *administrative bilingualism* evolved. By this I mean not so much that a number of individuals must have known both Greek and Egyptian. Such precious bilingual persons

⁵² W. CLARYSSE, in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (n. 38 above), p. 10-11, mentions κωμάρχης, στρατηγός, ἐπιστάτης, ἐκλογιστής, ἐπιμελητής, κωμομισθώτης, οἰκονόμος, πράκτωρ, σιτολόγος, δικαστής, εἰσαγωγεὺς; the complete lists *ibid.*, p. 21-33.

⁵³ W. CLARYSSE, *art. cit.*, p. 13; see also here below, p. 217.

⁵⁴ By no means an absolute one: there are e.g. the marriage-contract from Elephantine (*P. Eleph.* 1, of 311 B.C.) and the Saqqara papyrus published by E.G. TURNER, *A Commander-in-Chief's Order from Saqqara*, *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 239-242.

⁵⁵ There is, for instance, an interesting Aramaic papyrus which Janos HARMATTA (*Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des frühptolemäischen Ägyptens*, in *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im alten Orient und im klassischen Altertum*. Tagung der Sektion der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft vom 12-17.X.1959 in Altenburg, edd. H.J. DIESNER – R. GUNTHER – G. SCHROT, Berlin 1961, p. 119-139) has dated to a time around 310 B.C. It concerns the affairs of two Jewish dealers, apparently covering a whole year, and Harmatta interprets it as illustrating the gradual transition to the economic and monetary system as organised under Ptolemy II. At the time when this papyrus was presumably written, on the other hand, such institutions as the new Ptolemaic coinage or the monopoly over oil-tax were not yet in place, though certain steps toward them were apparently being taken already under Ptolemy I Soter.

of course existed, and we actually know some of them from the papyri. Incidentally, there appear to have been more Egyptians than Greeks among them⁵⁶. What I am rather thinking of is the development of an administrative system in which certain *functions* (and powers) became defined in relation to the smooth and profitable (to the king) working of the system. And these functions were then thought (rationalized in Greek fashion) to be rather 'Greek' or 'Egyptian' in character, according to the know-how they required, on the one hand, and responding to Ptolemy's need to keep Egypt and her revenues firmly under his control on the other hand. These functions may perhaps be adequately recognized by reference to certain Greek roots, such as ἀρχ- («govern»), γραφ- («write»), οἰκ- («house»). The first and last of these we have already met in νομ-ἀρχ-ης and δι-οικ-ητής, respectively. As I have tried to show, the literary sources seem to indicate that the ἄρχειν, the actual work of governing the land and running the system, was considered to be a native's executive job. The main official to be entrusted with this function was the νομάρχης — corresponding tasks at lower levels being given to the μεριδάρχης, τοπάρχης and κωμάρχης⁵⁷. This hypothesis, once put forward, must be checked against data from the papyri as collected in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. W. Peremans' series of studies, combined with certain suggestions by W. Clarysse⁵⁸, are very useful here. Thus Peremans indicates⁵⁹ that only Egyptian names are attested for the 23 κωμάρχαι whose names are known for the 3rd century B.C., and in the 2nd–1st century B.C. Egyptian names for κωμάρχαι are still by far in the majority (19, as opposed to 3 possibly Hellenised names, and 2 Greek ones)⁶⁰. On the other hand, about one-third of the names of τοπάρχαι are Egyptian (note, however, that data

⁵⁶ W. PEREMANS, in *Studien F. Oertel* (n. 6 above); ID., in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (n. 6 above); cf. W. CLARYSSE, *Sacris Erudiri* 31 (1989-1990), p.79.

⁵⁷ On the analogy of νομάρχης / νέμω, μεριδάρχης may well derive from μερίζω, «to assign one's share» to each of the parties, e.g. king and lessees in land-leasing contracts, or king and tax-farmers, especially in that fixed rates had to be readjusted as a consequence of various possible kinds of disruption. This interpretation of the title of μεριδάρχης may well be preferable to one commonly accepted («head of the μερίς»), especially as μερίδες are only attested for the Arsinoite nome, whereas evidence for μεριδάρχαι derives mainly from the 1st century B.C. Heracleopolite nome.

⁵⁸ See above n. 1-2.

⁵⁹ W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45.

⁶⁰ Hellenised names are Greek names that are or could be a translation of Egyptian religious notions, behind which therefore an Egyptian may be hidden, as is sometimes revealed by occurrences of double (Egyptian and Greek) names, or by abnormal filiations (a person bearing a Greek name, but said to be the son of an Egyptian).

for τοπάρχαι in the 2nd–1st century B.C. are scarce); and we only know 15 names of ‘νομάρχαι of the nome’⁶¹, and no more than six of μεριδάρχαι — figures which Peremans considered to be too low for an assessment of the presence of natives among them⁶².

These data (or rather: my hypothesis as against these data) need further checking. But there is one point I would like to stress here. Defining an administrative function as Egyptian (or Greek) by no means excludes the possibility that a Greek (or Egyptian) may have had access to it, provided he learnt the relevant language and rules of the game. Of course, the presence of an Egyptian in a Greek administrative function (or of a Greek in an Egyptian function, like perhaps the two κωμάρχαι with Greek names⁶³ in the later Ptolemaic period) is more likely to have occurred some time after the initial set-up of the Ptolemaic system. That is to say, one must allow for a certain amount of time to elapse before a new language and new rules are learnt both by Greeks and by Egyptians. And this may well have taken longer to happen for a smaller ‘Egyptian’ job (κωμάρχης, for example) in the furthest Egyptian χώρα: for which Greek would ever want to take it, and be able to deal with it in an almost exclusively Egyptian milieu? On the other hand, as the position of νομάρχης would be a prestigious one, allowing its holder to live at least in a nome μητρόπολις, where people could also speak Greek, it may conceivably have held a greater appeal for a Greek living in Ptolemaic Egypt. Greeks born in Egypt (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς, like Menches, κωμογραμματεὺς at Kerkeosiris at the end of the 2nd century B.C.) no doubt played a key role in such cases of osmosis in Ptolemaic bureaucracy⁶⁴. Again, we must always bear in mind the blank of about thirty years in our papyrological documentation: long enough for willing Egyptians to Hellenise (a number of them perhaps hidden behind Hellenised names), and for willing Greeks to ‘Egyptianise’ — though these were certainly fewer in number, and not just because they would be less motivated to learn the ways of that ‘other’ culture or because Egyptian was an exceptionally difficult lan-

⁶¹ As so defined, however, this may well be a misleading administrative category: cf. p. 209–210.

⁶² I suspect many of these names to be of the Hellenised type.

⁶³ But to what extent were they really Greek?

⁶⁴ J.F. OATES, *The Status Designation: Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, *YCIS* 18 (1963), p. 1–129; W. CLARYSSE, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), p. 57–66; N. LEWIS, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1986, chs. 6–8.

guage. The fact is that there were also far fewer Greeks than Egyptians in Egypt⁶⁵.

Since Egypt was the οἶκος of the Ptolemies, it was not for the ἄρχειν-officials to decide the amount of revenues which should come into the Royal Treasury, nor how these should be employed. The budgeting for, and the management of Ptolemy's household (i.e. of all Egypt, the king's private property), in other words the administration of her resources, was a managerial job which involved decision-making — and one for a Greek διοικητής⁶⁶. Ὑποδιοικηταί are also attested, and, further down the line, we find the οἰκονόμοι (one in each nome, at least) superintending σιτολόγοι and τραπεζίται (in the main village of each toparchy), i.e. the actual collectors and distributors of payments, in kind and in money, respectively, along the lines of what appears to be a double economy.

The monetary economy received a strong impulse under the Ptolemies, being tightly knit together with the fiscal system as established by the new sovereign of Egypt. Though the use of money was by no means unknown in pre-Ptolemaic times, the introduction of a pervading monetary system was certainly something new to the Egyptian economy⁶⁷ — comparable, in fact, to the invention and diffusion of a new (Greek) administrative language. The Egyptian economy had to be translated to a considerable extent into monetary terms. Here, too, what may be seen as a bilingual system was adopted, payments in kind being the norm in certain areas (such as taxes or rents upon land), while in other cases money was the standard means of payment. The dividing line between monetary economy and economy in kind could be even subtler: in the case of the ἀπόμοιρα, for instance, the *P. Rev. Laws* tells us that the one-sixth tax upon vineyards was payable in kind, whereas the same tax, imposed upon orchards, was to be paid in money. The

⁶⁵ In any case, it seems sensible to admit that no 'pure' Greek would ever use an Egyptian name, even upon taking an 'Egyptian' office. But how many 'pure' Greeks would there be in the χώρα, during the 2nd/1st century B.C.? And would such a 'pure' Greek ever take a minor post, which would be «good for an Egyptian»? Indeed, even N. LEWIS' *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (including Menches of Kerkeosiris) appear to have been a decidedly mixed group, especially in the last two centuries of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

⁶⁶ J.D. THOMAS, *art. cit.* (n. 26 above), has convincingly shown, as it seems to me, that the only διοικητής with an Egyptian name (Imouthes) known for the 3rd century B.C. was in fact no διοικητής.

⁶⁷ J. BINGEN, *Économie grecque et société égyptienne au IIIe siècle*, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (see n. 4 above), p. 211-219.

reason for this difference in regulations concerning the same tax was⁶⁸ that the ἀπόμοιρα upon vineyards would be paid in wine, which keeps well, whereas fruit (from the orchards) is perishable.

Greeks must be supposed to have been much more at ease with the dealings of a monetary economy than the Egyptians. The office of τραπεζίτης, if any, may be expected to have been 'purely Greek' in character: Peremans' analysis⁶⁹ in fact shows a very large majority (168 vs 16) of the τραπεζίται in the papyri to have borne Greek or Hellenised names. As I observed at the start⁷⁰, no matter how many Egyptians are in fact hidden behind the Greek names of bankers, the fact remains of the Greek character which was felt to pertain to a banker's office. And no matter how many Egyptians there actually were among the 184 recorded in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, these still remain a tiny privileged minority amid the total Egyptian population whose milieu remained that of a «civilisation d'agriculture par irrigation extensive et occupation dense de l'espace rural»⁷¹.

J. Bingen gives an interesting example of the intervention of the monetary economy in a traditional Egyptian activity, that of the bee-keepers. Under the Ptolemies, not only did a bee-keeper have to pay a tax (a φόρος) in money (though this was convertible in kind), he often ended up being just the sub-lessee for a middleman who actually owned the bee-hives. Such middlemen, individuals having «at their disposal some economic means with a certain flexibility in using these resources»⁷², are a specific feature of a monetary economy. They are entrepreneurs, investing their capital in a number of economic activities, bee-keeping among these. A favourite field for their initiative would be the leasing of entire allotments from the Greek cleruchs who would rather enjoy «the existence of rentiers in some Greek setting, urban or quasi-urban. ... Then the middlemen would sublease, in plots large and small, at substantially higher rents, to landless Egyptian peasants, who would perform the actual cultivation»⁷³. We may thus follow the «progressive

⁶⁸ As observed by G.M. HARPER Jr., *Tax Contractors and their Relation to Tax Collection in Ptolemaic Egypt, Aegyptus* 14 (1934), p. 49-64.

⁶⁹ *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45; 10 (1979), p. 139-149.

⁷⁰ See above p. 204 and n. 4.

⁷¹ J. BINGEN, *art. cit.* (n. 67 above), p. 212.

⁷² J. BINGEN, *The Third-Century B.C. Land-Leases from Tholthis, ICS* 3 (1978), p. 74-80, esp. p. 79.

⁷³ N. LEWIS, *op. cit.* (n. 64 above), p. 20 and n. 12.

development of a Greek urban bourgeoisie» made up, among others, of cleruchs-rentiers and of civilian middlemen-entrepreneurs⁷⁴.

Yet another money-making opportunity for a middleman was tax-farming. This was an institution imported into Egypt from the Greek homeland, except that the Ptolemaic tax-farmer (τελώνης) «functioned as a guarantor of a specified amount of tax-revenue, not as a collector of taxes»⁷⁵, and the actual exaction fell to the οἰκονόμος (i.e. to the competent state official) who also held the yearly auction and supervised the activity of all tax contractors in his nome over the whole year, being «responsible to the government, as represented by the διοικητής, for a proper contribution by his nome to the royal revenue»⁷⁶. This the οἰκονόμος did with the help of a number of other crown officials, his subordinates, including λογευταί («collectors») and others⁷⁷. Just like the bankers, by far the largest number of οἰκονόμοι (110 vs 28), σιτολόγοι (81 vs 21) and λογευταί (32 vs 5) bear Greek and Hellenised names; to these, other officials, called πράκτορες (also «tax gatherers») may be added, for whom no Egyptian name is attested (36 Greek or Hellenised names)⁷⁸. A large majority of τελώναι (118 vs 29) also bore Greek names; it must be stressed, however, that these were civilians, and not crown officers. These data from the papyri undoubtedly support the hypothesis that people connected with the management of Ptolemy's οἶκος were felt to occupy 'Greek' positions. The overlap with the nomarch's functions is more apparent than real here, as executive power (ἄρχειν) is to be distinguished from managerial power (οἰκονόμος). In the case of *P. Rev. Laws*, for instance, instructions are that if one official was absent, then of course the other would assume full responsibility for certain operations: but an ability to hold office as acting official (a substitute for the one who should be in that place) does not necessarily imply an overlapping function. The functions were in fact, as I have tried to show, carefully distinguished. Besides, the nomarch would be particularly responsible for revenues from land cultivation, i.e. active within the limits of an economy in kind. Having

⁷⁴ J. BINGEN, *Présence grecque et milieu rural ptolémaïque*, in *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. M.I. FINLEY, Paris-La Haye 1973, p. 215-222, esp. p. 222. Note that certain officials (like Menches) show many signs of indulging in such entrepreneurial activities: cf. N. LEWIS, *op. cit.* (n. 64 above).

⁷⁵ N. LEWIS, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷⁶ G.M. HARPER Jr., *Aegyptus* 14 (1934), p. 51.

⁷⁷ Among these, συμβολοφύλακες («keepers of receipts») and an inspector (ἐφοδός).

⁷⁸ W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45; 10 (1979), p. 139-149.

said this, a diachronic factor must also be taken into consideration. There are, as we have noted, demotic documents that suggest that the highest tax-officials were originally *not* Greek: the situation only changed definitely under Ptolemy II⁷⁹. In the case of the οἰκονόμος, this official appears to have been largely superseded by the στρατηγός in his newly acquired capacity of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.

The third administrative function to be examined here is that of *writing* (Greek root γραφ-) which we find in the titles of the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς and of his subordinates (τοπογραμματεὺς and κωμογραμματεὺς)⁸⁰. A cursory look through some of the relevant bibliography quickly reveals certain discrepancies in the translation of these titles, but 'scribes' would seem to me preferable by far to all others — the point being, of course, that these γραμματεῖς are the Ptolemaic equivalent of pre-Ptolemaic scribes, and the link between the Greek administration and the existing, partly preserved Egyptian bureaucracy (or, if we want to risk a formula, between 'Greek' οἰκονομεῖν and Egyptian ἄρχειν)⁸¹.

The function of these γραμματεῖς/scribes was to place on record all administrative operations performed in the area within their competence (νομός, τόπος, κώμη), which, incidentally, included 'accounting' (the root λογίζ- covering a range of administrative proceedings and a

⁷⁹ Cf. above p. 213ff., with reference to J. QUAEGBEUR, *art. cit.* (n. 40 above); see also Theocr., *Id.* 15.44-50.

⁸⁰ These γραμματεῖς are by no means the only Ptolemaic officials whose activity may be classified under the heading: 'Function: writing'. The same root γραφ- is found for instance in the titles of ἐπιστολογράφος and ὑπομνηματογράφος (high officials in the capital, in charge of the official correspondence), and of ἀντιγραφεὺς («checking clerk»: to supervise e.g. the τραπεζίτης and the σιτολόγος). Note, however, that these titles specify what or how the official in question should write, whereas γραμματεὺς is more general: from a γραμματεὺς' title, we know where he 'functioned', but not *what* precisely he was to do. Γραμματεῖς are a more general administrative category, and the only real equivalent of the 'scribes' in the Egyptian tradition. It is this which makes them particularly interesting in the context that I am trying to delineate.

⁸¹ E.g.: W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 89, translates «secrétaire du nome, du topos et du village»; N. LEWIS, *op. cit.* (n. 64 above), has «royal secretary» for βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, along with «regional officer» for τοπογραμματεὺς, and «village clerk» for κωμογραμματεὺς; we find «royal clerk» in G.M. HARPER Jr., *art. cit.* (n. 68 above). On the other hand, P. VIDAL-NAQUET, *Le bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 5), Bruxelles 1967, adopts «scribe royal»; D.J. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris. An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, employs «village scribe» as the English equivalent of κωμογραμματεὺς, the Italian for it being «scriba del villaggio» in L. CRISCUOLO, *Ricerche sul komogrammateus nell'Egitto tolemaico*, *Aegyptus* 58 (1978), p. 3-101.

number of minor officers, λογισταί, that I treat here as a subsystem of the γράφειν function).

First of all, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς was the official chiefly responsible for the land survey operations in his nome; to this official we owe the long survey documents from the end of the 2nd and of the 1st century B.C. (topographical surveys, landholder reports and crop reports, drawn up at different times of the year) from Tebtynis and from the Heracleopolite nome, all inspired by a predominantly fiscal purpose, and with a long history in pre-Ptolemaic times⁸².

Again, the different functions of νομάρχης and βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς are I think embodied in their names (ἄρχειν vs. γράφειν function). A νομάρχης did not need to be able to write (least of all in Greek), for he was to direct certain operations, not to keep records of their proceedings (which was the scribe's function). The same applies, of course, to the lower levels of ἄρχειν- and γράφειν- officials. Thus, I think we may safely assert that there was no overlap — but rather vicinity (and reciprocal control) between the categories of administrators that we are considering. In fact, *P. Rev. Laws* also indicates that «the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς ... greatly aided the οἰκονόμος» in the farming of taxes, his «primary function» being presumably «to record the award of tax contracts»⁸³. And in the 1st century B.C. Heracleopolite nome, the βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς is shown by the documents to be the official without whose permission (συνεπιστέλλοντος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως) no order for payment may be put into effect. Note that these orders originate from the διοικητής or from the στρατηγός of the nome, and must be effected through the σιτολόγος or the τραπεζίτης, depending on whether payments are to be in kind or in money⁸⁴.

Γραμματεῖς, if anybody in Ptolemaic Egypt, must have been bilingual — and most of them Egyptian. The papyri give us 41 Egyptian names, against 20 Greek ones for βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς; exclusively Egyptian names, and just one possibly Hellenised, among τοπογραμματεῖς, 58 Egyptian names out of a total of 73 κωμογραμματεῖς⁸⁵: an unequivocal indication of the Egyptian character of these offices which

⁸² D.J. CRAWFORD, *op. cit.*, p. 5ff.

⁸³ G.M. HARPER Jr., *art. cit.* (n. 68 above), p. 51.

⁸⁴ BGU VIII 1741-1755; cf. P. HANDROCK, *Dienstliche Weisungen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit*, Diss. Köln 1967.

⁸⁵ W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45; 10 (1979), p. 139-149.

the Ptolemies — upon taking power — apparently decided to leave in the hands of natives, so as not to disrupt the administrative machinery of Egypt⁸⁶. In doing so, they seem to have followed Alexander's guidelines, and indeed to have applied them in a much more widespread and thorough fashion. Scribes under the new régime must know Greek, in order to keep their records in that language for the conquerors to check them. But they also need to know the ways of Egyptian country life, in order to understand the natives and to have authority in their eyes. An Egyptian scribe would be in a privileged position with regard to both these aspects: tradition would assure him of respect on the part of the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt⁸⁷, while his own social and cultural standing (and willingness to maintain the privileges that went with it, even under new, foreign sovereigns) would make it easy for him to Hellenise — assuming he wished to⁸⁸. The traditional inheritance of office in Egypt, and a tendency to recruit scribes from among the priestly milieu, were also important factors in determining this situation. One is reminded of Petosiris, high priest of Thot at Hermoupolis, λεσῶνις, but also royal scribe, who tells us about himself in the autobiographical inscription on his tomb. But even more intriguing is the mixed Graeco-Egyptian style of the relief decoration of the tomb, which shows us to what extent certain privileged Egyptians were willing, and able, to apprehend Greek culture (in this particular case its figurative language). Petosiris must have lived in the transitional period following the end of the second Persian domination, and precisely during the period when the Greek dominion was consolidating⁸⁹. He may perhaps be taken as a model (at the highest level in the Egyptian society) for the manner in which the Ptolemaic γραμματεὺς developed as an administrator in Egypt⁹⁰.

'Government', 'management', and 'writing' were not the only functions in the Ptolemaic administration. The military (στρατηγός, cle-ruchs) and police (ἐπιστάτης and subordinates) functions immediately

⁸⁶ W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 142.

⁸⁷ «... les scribes, grands et petits, sont nécessaires pour les contacts avec la population indigène» (J. BINGEN, *art. cit.* [n. 74 above], p. 217).

⁸⁸ Cf. W. CLARYSSE, in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (n. 38 above), p. 78 ff., who studies how Egyptian scribal families may have «entered the banking establishment, perhaps first as scribes and only gradually, from the second century onwards, when they were largely Hellenised, as bankers» (p. 78-79).

⁸⁹ J. QUAEGBEUR, *art. cit.* (n. 40 above).

⁹⁰ J. BINGEN, *art. cit.* (n. 41 above), p. 212f.; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, s.v. *Petosiris*, and s.v. *Priester(tum)* (griech.-röm.).

spring to mind, and these were more straightforwardly Greek⁹¹. There were also of course the court⁹², and Alexandrian cultural circles⁹³, not to mention the complex (again: bilingual) legal system of Ptolemaic Egypt⁹⁴.

However, the interplay of these three functions (government, management, writing) may hopefully justify my decision to concentrate upon them. It seems to me that in the organizational effort at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, ἄρχειν, οἰκονομεῖν and γράφειν were conceived of as integrating with each other. As I have tried to show in this paper, this must be seen as a process, rather than as a set of royal decrees issued at one particular time. There is no doubt that a concentrated effort at systematizing the whole administration was made under Ptolemy II Philadelphus: the *P. Rev. Laws* is the neatest example of this organizational activity. This administrative system, though it at times leaves the modern student with more than an impression of being exceedingly intricate, easily lending itself to interference and conflicts between the different authorities, should rather be seen as a sophisticated attempt — the measure of success is a matter for several other papers — on the part of the Greek conquerors, and with the cooperation of certain individuals from the cultured strata of the Egyptian population, to acknowledge the complexities inherent in a situation of cultural contact. The prestige long enjoyed by Egyptian culture in the eyes of the Greeks⁹⁵, and the excellent tradition of Greek philosophical thought on the Ideal State and the perfect constitution for it, certainly helped in the process⁹⁶.

Finally, the interplay of different functions and authorities also ensured an effective division of power, by a complex arrangement of checks and counter-checks of one official upon the other. In this, too,

⁹¹ A few very basic bibliographical references: H. BENGSTON, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* III (Münch. Beiträge, 36), München 1967; W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 2 (1971), p. 33-45; ID., *AncSoc* 9 (1978), p. 83-100; ID., *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 139-149; J.K. WINNICKI, *Die Ägypter und das Ptolemäerheer*, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), p. 41-55.

⁹² L. MOOREN, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 23), Leuven 1977.

⁹³ W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 7 (1976), p. 167-176.

⁹⁴ A review of the problems in this field: W. PEREMANS, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/1983), p. 147-159.

⁹⁵ M. BERNAL, *Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilisation*, vol. I: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*, London 1987; this book has been recently discussed by several scholars in *The Challenge of Black Athena*, *Arethusa*, Special Issue, Fall 1989.

⁹⁶ F. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 33 above), p. 235 (= *RE* VII, col. 2763).

the Ptolemies followed Alexander who (as Arrian recorded, *Anab.* III 5.7) «did not think it safe to entrust the command of all Egypt to one man».

AFTERNOTE

Certain analogies with the making of the British Empire will perhaps better be spelled out here, in order to define what is in the eye of the beholder (i.e. of the present writer). This may well be clarified with a quotation from the *TLS* review of the first three volumes of *The New Cambridge History of India*⁹⁷:

«For generations Western writers (and, it must be said, many of their Asian imitators) have proclaimed the triumphs of European intervention in India. Just as the arrival of a tiny band of Portuguese on the shores of India in 1498 supposedly marked the beginning of a 'Vasco da Gama epoch' in Asia's history that lasted until Indian independence and Dien Bien Phu, so the battle of Plassey in 1757 has repeatedly been seen as marking the moment when Britain embarked on a career as a territorial power in Asia and began to revolutionize an India that had formerly known only stagnation and chaos. ... Instead of an unfolding saga of European mastery, the three works under review constantly remind the reader of the limitations of Western power and influence in India and the extent to which Europeans were constrained by the nature of the society and economy they aspired to regulate and rule. ... Western ideas and institutions are merely grafted onto a thriving Indian stock. Here is no root-and-branch transformation of an atrophied or anarchic society».

The final two sentences in the same review, however, also aptly illustrate a certain feeling of unease which I experienced while writing this paper (though I am still persuaded of the need for 'decolonization' of the Hellenistic history of Egypt):

«And yet, while welcoming this decolonization of India's history, one cannot but wonder whether the pendulum has not already swung too far the other way in denying to colonial rule an epochal character and

⁹⁷ D. ARNOLD, *Letting the Conquerors lie*, *TLS*, July 22-28, 1988 (No.4, 451), p. 809f.(review of: *The New Cambridge History of India*: Part One, Volume One: M.N. PEARSON, *The Portuguese in India*; Part One, Volume Two: C.A. BAYLY, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*; Part Two, Volume Two: P.J. MARSHALL, *Bengal: The British Bridgehead: Eastern India 1740-1828*, Cambridge 1988).

an interventionist capability that marked it off from the long ages of India's pre-colonial past. It would be regrettable indeed if the irreconcilable conflicts and jagged discontinuities of India's colonial experience were thus to be entirely subsumed within a new paradigm of compatibility and consensus».

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GUERRE CIVILI E AMMINISTRAZIONE TOLEMAICA

Il caso degli strateghi dell'Herakleopolites*

Se si dovesse definire la funzione che più di ogni altra corrisponde alla spina dorsale di quel solido organismo che fu la burocrazia tolemaica, essa non potrebbe essere che la strategia. Tuttavia, nonostante il fondamentale contributo monografico del Bengtson¹, non sempre si sono puntualizzati alcuni aspetti dello stretto legame tra i destini dei governanti in Alessandria e quelli dei loro rappresentanti nella *χώρα*². L'esistenza del cospicuo dossier relativo agli uffici del nomo Herakleopolites, pubblicato principalmente in *BGU* VIII già dal 1933, e risalente agli ultimi anni della dinastia lagide, consente, credo, qualche considerazione al riguardo e può forse contribuire a comprendere meglio i meccanismi che consentivano l'effettivo esercizio del potere regale.

Fin dalla sua pubblicazione il cosiddetto archivio degli strateghi dell'Herakleopolites pose agli editori il problema di definire cronologicamente le carriere dei funzionari che si succedettero nella carica tra l'ultimo decennio di Tolemeo XII Aulete ed i primissimi anni del regno di Cleopatra VII, definizione che suscitò subito perplessità e provocò ipotesi interpretative poco convincenti³. Infatti l'apparente alternanza nella carica di Heliodoros e Paniskos, e soprattutto di Paniskos e Seleukos, fece pensare addirittura alla contemporanea esistenza di più strateghi nello stesso nomo, tesi del resto subito contestata⁴. Le acute osservazioni di T.C. Skeat⁵ consentirono di stabilire una sequenza

* A Edmond VAN 'T DACK, Maestro della cui dottrina e paterna comprensione ho così spesso beneficiato e la cui opera di grande studioso ha reso meno ingrata e incerta ogni ricerca sull'Egitto tolemaico, è dedicato questo modesto omaggio.

Tutte le date s'intendono avanti Cristo.

¹ H. BENGTSON, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* III (Münch. Beitr., 36), München 1952. Già in precedenza questa carica era stata oggetto di un'analisi monografica, anche se con prevalente attenzione all'età romana, vd. N. HOHLWEIN, *Le Stratège du nome* (Pap. Brux., 9), Bruxelles 1969 (= Mus. Belge 28, 1924, e 29, 1925).

² Si veda comunque, per una parziale trattazione, il paragrafo dedicato a questo tema in H. BENGTSON, *Strategie*, p. 56-59.

³ Per le sequenze proposte dagli editori, W. SCHUBART e D. SCHÄFER, cf. *BGU* VIII, p. 4.

⁴ Vd. P. COLLART - P. JOUGUET, *Un Papyrus ptolémaïque provenant de Deir El-Bahari*, Et. Pap. 2 (1933), p. 30 e *contra*, H. HENNE, *Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine* (MIFAO, 56), Le Caire 1935, p. 13.

⁵ *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* (Münch. Beitr., 39), München 1969², p. 38-39.

lineare e perfettamente aderente alle testimonianze, risolvendo l'ambiguità delle datazioni ad anni 1 e 2 per lo stratego Paniskos e Seleukos, che sono da riferire rispettivamente al regno di Berenice IV e Cleopatra VII⁶. Pertanto nell'Herakleopolites sono sicuramente attestati in carica, nel seguente ordine, gli strateghi⁷:

Heliodoros	n. 0102	61/60
Paniskos	n. 0103	61/60 – 55 (tra 22 aprile e 5 settembre)
Heliodoros	n. 0102	53/52
Seleukos	n. 0104	15.2.51 – 16.3.50
Soteles	n. 0105	27.5.50 – 28.7.49
Eurylochos	n. 0106	47

A questa serie di personaggi va aggiunta la menzione di un funzionario, Andromachos, sulla cui carica di stratego non ci sono mai stati dubbi, per la posizione gerarchica da lui occupata nei testi che lo ricordano, ma che non è stato datato con sicurezza: egli infatti compare in tre papiri, ugualmente appartenenti al medesimo gruppo dei *BGU* VIII, ma pubblicati separatamente qualche anno dopo⁸, come mittente di tre lettere ad Archibis, certamente identificato con un basilicogrammateo⁹; i documenti sono datati ad un anno 4 che può dunque corrispondere o al 78/77 o al 49/48¹⁰ e contengono le copie di istruzioni del dieceta Ptolemaios inviate da Andromachos a Leonides, sitologo

⁶ Un prospetto in ordine cronologico, già conforme alle correzioni apportate dallo Skeat, degli strateghi dell'Herakleopolites è in L. MOOREN, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt. Introduction and Prosopography*, Brussel 1975, p. 107-113, n. 095-0108. Un elenco degli strateghi attestati nel regno di Cleopatra VII, in ordine alfabetico, è anche in L.M. RICKETTS, *The Administration of Ptolemaic Egypt under Cleopatra VII*, Diss. Univ. Minnesota 1980, p. 139 e ss. Del tutto ingiustificato, a mio avviso, è considerare Ptolemaios di *BGU* VIII 1793 come successore di Soteles, *ibid.* p. 84-85.

⁷ Sono riportate, quando possibile, la prima e l'ultima data attestata con sicurezza, nonché il numero del personaggio nella *Aulic Titulature* di Mooren.

⁸ H. ZILLIACUS, *Neue Ptolemäertexte zum Korntransport und Saatdarlehen, Aegyptus* 19 (1939), p. 59-76 (= *SB* V 8754-8756), cf. L. MOOREN, *Aulic Titulature*, n. 099: la sua circoscrizione pare comunque fosse allargata a comprendere anche Memphis, cf., oltre al commento dell'editore, H. HAUBEN, *An Annotated List of Ptolemaic Naukleroi with a Discussion of BGU X 1933*, *ZPE* 8 (1971), p. 270 nota 60.

⁹ *Pros. Ptol.* I 433.

¹⁰ L'editore, specie per ragioni paleografiche, propendeva per questa seconda attribuzione (*art. cit.*, p. 60), accolta in *SB* V 8754-8756; U. WILCKEN, al contrario, sembrò preferire la datazione più alta, cf. *Archiv* 13 (1939), p. 223. L. MOOREN, correttamente, le segnala entrambe, mentre la RICKETTS colloca, senza ulteriore discussione, Andromachos al 49/48, cf. *op. cit.*, p. 139.

nell'Herakleopolites. Quest'ultimo funzionario, come tale, sembrerebbe assente nel gruppo di testi editi in *BGU VIII*, ma un Leonides, senza altra qualifica, compare in *BGU VIII* 1781 e 1782, ricordato rispettivamente insieme allo stratego Paniskos ed a Heliodoros e in un contesto che si accorda perfettamente ad un'identificazione con il sitologo di *SB V* 8754-8756. Entrambi i documenti non sono datati, ma la menzione degli strateghi, nonché, in *BGU VIII* 1782, del dieceta Noumenios, li colloca certamente verso la fine del regno dell'Aulete piuttosto che all'inizio. In tal caso alla lista qui su riportata, tra Soteles ed Eurylochos, va dunque aggiunto anche Andromachos, n. 099, certamente in carica il 21 gennaio 48 a.C.¹¹

In un arco di quattordici anni nell'Herakleopolites si avvicendarono pertanto 7 strateghi, di cui 5 in soli sei anni.

Sulla durata della carica di stratego in età tolemaica non ci sono indicazioni precise¹², tuttavia il tipo di funzione, che richiedeva certamente competenze specifiche e non improvvisate, e la sua natura di importante tappa in carriere di rilievo, testimoniata tra l'altro dall'evoluzione stessa della corrispondente titolatura aulica¹³, fanno supporre che l'orientamento dell'amministrazione fosse di far permanere in carica gli strateghi in media almeno tre o quattro anni. Se scorriamo infatti la *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* possiamo verificare che per lo più, nei casi in cui un certo numero di papiri attestino con sicurezza più di un anno di attività, la permanenza in carica si protraeva spesso per parecchi anni, e ciò in tutti i periodi del regno tolemaico¹⁴.

A dispetto di questa tendenza (se anche non si può parlare di regola),

¹¹ La data è riportata in *SB V* 8754, l. 2.

¹² Per l'epoca romana invece il noto passo dell'editto di Tiberio Giulio Alessandro ha fatto fissare la durata 'canonica' della strategia a tre anni, cf. G. CHALON, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*, Olt-Lausanne 1964, p. 172-174.

¹³ Cf. in particolare le osservazioni di L. MOOREN, *La Hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 23), Lovanii 1977, p. 202.

¹⁴ Riporto tra parentesi solo le date testimoniate con certezza ed il nomo di competenza: *Pros. Ptol.* I, n. 222, Apollonios (135-132, Arsinoites); n. 228, Aristomachos (232-226, Arsinoites); n. 236, Aphthonetos (244/43-232/231, Arsinoites); n. 238 (= VIII n. 238), Dorimachos (182/81-178/77, Peri Tebe); n. 244, Dionysos (163-159, Memphites); n. 247, Diophanes (223-218, Arsinoites); n. 253, Hermias (125/24-117, Peri Tebe); n. 260, Theomnestos (173-170/69, Lykopolites-Peri Tebe); n. 274, Kydias (167-160, Herakleopolites); n. 283, Menkores (69/68-63, e forse VIII n. 284, 52, Peri Tebe); n. 303, Pelaias (78-53, Ombites); n. 310, Poseidonios (158-156, Memphites); n. 312 (= VIII n. 312), Ptolemaios (forse si tratta addirittura di due personaggi, 193/92-183 o 176 e 176 o 170-164, Arsinoites); n. 326 (= VIII n. 326), Santobythis (139/38-135/30, Pathyrites, Ombites, Syene); n. 340, Phantias (140-135/34, Arsinoites).

nell'Herakleopolites della metà del I secolo a.C. si assiste ad un susseguirsi di funzionari il cui alternarsi non può certo essere attribuito a casi o coincidenze. A tale osservazione va inoltre aggiunto che, parallelamente, la documentazione papiracea mostra un avvicendamento del tutto simile anche per i dieceti¹⁵. Infatti tra il 57 ed il 47 sono attestati 6, forse 7, dieceti che si susseguono nel seguente ordine:

Hephaistion	n. 0173	60-57
Noumenios	n. 0174	53/52 ¹⁶
Protarchos	n. 0175	12.2.50 – 27.5.50
Ptolemaios	<i>Pros. Ptol. I 44</i>	21.1.48 ¹⁷
Potheinos (?)	n. 028	tra febbraio e fine luglio 48 ¹⁸
Noumenios (?)		47/46 ¹⁹

Il settimo dieceta potrebbe essere Hermias che compare in *BGU XIV 2422*, una lettera datata al 2 Athyr di un anno 3, dunque o il 12.11.79 o il 5.11.50 a.C.: in quest'ultimo caso, tra la fine del secondo e l'inizio del terzo anno di Cleopatra (e Tolemeo XIII) ci sarebbe stata la sostituzione di Protarchos con un altro dieceta a sua volta rimpiazzato, un anno dopo, da Ptolemaios²⁰.

Se consideriamo le tappe che segnarono le vicende politiche del regno lagide in quegli anni, dal ritorno dell'Aulete al definitivo affermarsi di

¹⁵ Un collegamento tra questo insolito "turnover" e i conflitti dinastici è asserito già dalla L.M. RICKETTS, *Administration*, p. 89, la cui lista a p. 137 (non in ordine cronologico, ma alfabetico) va comunque corretta e, forse, completata.

¹⁶ Il dieceta Noumenios compare in *BGU VIII 1782* insieme allo stratego Heliodoros che, come si è visto, ha ricoperto la carica in due momenti diversi, intorno al 61/60 (in cui probabilmente era in carica il dieceta Hephaistion) e sicuramente nel 53/52; Noumenios dunque potrebbe essere o il predecessore o il successore di Hephaistion. Poiché però nello stesso *BGU VIII 1782* compare anche un Leonides, a mio avviso da identificare, insieme a quello di *BGU VIII 1781*, con il sitologo del 49/48, per cui cf. *supra*, p. 231, ritengo più probabile che il mandato di Noumenios coincida col secondo periodo di Heliodoros. Si ricordi inoltre che gli editori di *BGU VIII* ipotizzarono anche (p. 3 e n. 1769) un dieceta Hellanikos in carica nel 48/47, ma la sua qualifica è in realtà ignota e potrebbe essere, data la natura e il linguaggio del documento (il presunto dieceta s'indirizza allo stratego con l'epiteto ἀδελφός) del tutto diversa.

¹⁷ Cf. per la data, *supra*, p. 231.

¹⁸ Non esistono per ora documenti che definiscano Potheinos διοικητής, ciò che obbliga all'uso del punto interrogativo; tuttavia le perifrasi che ne designano la carica nelle fonti portano ad accettarlo con grande probabilità nella lista, pur con eventuali riserve e limiti per cui cf. H. HEINEN, *Rom und Ägypten von 51 bis 47 v. Chr.*, Diss. Tübingen 1966, p. 38-39.

¹⁹ Cf. *BGU VIII 1870*: la qualifica non è certa per lo stato lacunoso del documento.

²⁰ Va ricordato che in *SB V 8754* Ptolemaios è detto ὁ διαδεχόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, dunque era da pochissimo tempo entrato in carica.

Cleopatra VII sul trono, questi momenti offrono, credo, una chiave interpretativa di mutamenti e 'defenestrazioni' anche nei quadri medi dell'amministrazione, difficilmente comprensibili altrimenti.

Tolomeo XII Aulete tornò sul trono nella primavera del 55²¹, morì in quella del 51; gli successe la figlia che regnò sola all'inizio, ma che già nell'agosto-settembre del 50 doveva aver accettato la coreggenza del fratello minore, Tolomeo XIII (*C. Ord. Ptol.* 73), fino almeno all'agosto del 49; da quel momento e fino al gennaio del 47 Tolomeo XIII controllò la maggior parte del regno²².

Accostando questi dati alla lista degli strateghi dell'Herakleopolites, ne può derivare la seguente lettura: al suo ritorno in Egitto il sovrano decise di sostituire quei funzionari che, rimasti forse troppo fedelmente a servire Berenice IV, non riscuotevano più la sua fiducia, come lo stratego Paniskos, al cui posto fu messo un personaggio di fede più sicura, Heliodoros (che già in precedenza l'aveva servito in questa carica) almeno fino alla nomina di qualcuno che assumesse la responsabilità del nomo permanentemente. Questi fu Seleukos che rimase in carica sotto Cleopatra, ma che già dalla metà del secondo anno (27.5.50) fu rimpiazzato da Soteles. Costui a sua volta, estromessa completamente Cleopatra tra l'agosto e la fine del 49, fu soppiantato da Andromachos, funzionario di fiducia di Tolomeo XIII²³, ed infine, con la restaurazione della regina, la strategia fu nuovamente assegnata ad un altro funzionario, Eurylochos, in carica nel 47.

Anche la lista dei dieceti può essere interpretata secondo questo stesso criterio: ad Hephaistion succede Noumenios, probabilmente collaboratore fedele all'Aulete e come tale richiamato nel 47 da Cleopatra nel momento in cui ella doveva riorganizzare il regno dopo la guerra civile. Protarchos, funzionario forse già nominato dall'Aulete, certamente in carica all'inizio del regno di Cleopatra, fu sostituito, a mio parere, con Hermias durante la coreggenza (quindi tra la metà del 50 e quella del 49) e a questi successe poi, come fiduciario di Tolomeo XIII, Ptolemaios dalla fine del 49, rimpiazzato forse da Potheinos nel momento più acuto della guerra civile.

²¹ T.C. SKEAT, *Reigns*, p. 39-40.

²² Per la definizione di questa successione cronologica rinvio a H. HEINEN, *op. cit.*, e a L. CRISCUOLO, *La successione a Tolomeo Aulete ed i pretesi matrimoni di Cleopatra VII con i fratelli*, *Atti del Colloquio Egitto e Storia antica*, Bologna 1989, p. 327-329 e p. 334.

²³ Le circostanze politiche possono così spiegare il probabile allargamento al Memphites della circoscrizione di cui Andromachos era responsabile.

Almeno in questo caso le vicende politiche del regno, lungi dal costituire solo un lontano sfondo alessandrino che non toccava il millenario paese, meccanicisticamente funzionante secondo ritmi e schemi burocratici secolari, coinvolsero dunque profondamente gli uomini che reggevano le strutture del regno, chiamati a schierarsi o con l'uno o con l'altro dei pretendenti al trono d'Egitto e di volta in volta puniti o premiati per le loro scelte.

Non sappiamo fino a che punto la disponibilità verso i monarchi al potere sia costata loro, ma certamente il loro avvicinarsi dimostra come fosse vitale per la corte di Alessandria fondarsi su un apparato non solo efficiente, ma soprattutto fedele.

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HAKORIS, AN EGYPTIAN NOBLEMAN AND HIS FAMILY*

1. THE PERSONAL NAME HAKORIS

As a personal name Ἰακωρίδης is sporadically attested from the Ptolemaic to the Byzantine period. The instances are rare enough to allow for a full survey in chronological order:

NO.	TEXT	FAMILY RELATION	DATE	PLACE
1	<i>SB</i> XII 10860 fragm. 1 col.2 l. 5	Ἰακωρίδης σκυτεύς ¹	before 232 B.C.	Arsinoites
2	<i>SB</i> XII 10860 fragm. 33 l. 360	father of []..[.]μος ²	before 232 B.C.	Arsinoites
3	<i>P.Brit. Mus. dem.</i> IV 36 l. 6; 37 l. 2	father of Pibouchis and Sentaes	224 B.C.	Memnoneia
4	<i>I. Akoris</i> 1 (= <i>OGIS</i> I 94) <i>P. Köln</i> IV 186 ll. 9, 12 <i>SB</i> V 8257 (= <i>P.</i> <i>Col.</i> VIII 208)	son of Ἐργεύς father of Euphron —	197/194 B.C. ca. 169 B.C. 187 B.C.	Tenis/Akoris s.l. Hermopolites or Cynopolites
5	<i>P. Tebt.</i> III 1040 l. 15	father of Ἀρμάις	early II B.C.	Philoteris (Arsinoites)
6	<i>P.Dublin ined.</i> , Select Box 18	son of Osorgeris	mid II B.C.	Lycopolites
7	<i>Pap. Lugd.-Bat.</i> XXII 3 verso l. 2	<i>Hgr</i> (?) son of Horos	108 B.C.	Tenis/Akoris
8	<i>Pap. Lugd.-Bat.</i> XXII 5 verso l. 12	<i>Hgr</i> son of Nephotes	106 B.C.	Tenis/Akoris
9	<i>P. Tebt.</i> I 83 l. 30	father of Orsenou- phis	II B.C.	Magdola (Arsinoites)

* With thanks to E. LANCIERS for several useful remarks on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ The editor read the name as Ἰακωφίδης. The date will be discussed in my forthcoming reedition of the text, where Ἰακωρίδης will be found under fragm. 2 l. 331.

² The editor read the name as Ἰακωφίδης. In my forthcoming reedition of the text this will be fragm. 19 l. 563.

10	<i>P. Ashm. dem.</i> 14 + 15; gr. 25	Paos alias "Εκηρις (<i>Hkr</i>) ³	72/71 B.C.	Hawara (Arsinoites)
11	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> 13579 (ed. K.-Th. Zauzich)	<i>Hkr</i>	Ptolemaic	Elephantine
12	W. Erichsen, <i>Orakelfragen</i> 7 l. 1	<i>Hr</i> son of <i>Hkr</i> (see <i>DNB</i> I, p. 766)	Ptolemaic	Tebtynis
13	<i>O. Theb. dem.</i> 220 (p. 64)	<i>Hgr</i>	Ptolemaic (?)	Thebes
14	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> 3094 (ed. W. Spiegelberg)	<i>Hkr</i> , father of ...	Ptolemaic	s.l.
15	<i>P. Wash.</i> I 1 l. 28	son of 'Οϋ[νόφρις] (?) ⁴	early I A.D.	Oxyrhynchites
16	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XXIV 2412 l. 182	father of Pais	28/29 A.D.	Herakleopolites
17	<i>SB XVI</i> 12740 col. 1 l. 20	Ἀκωρις	35 A.D.	Philadelphiea
18	<i>SB XVI</i> 12739 col. 3 l. 15; <i>P. Hamb.</i> III 217 l. 7	Ἀκωρις (Ἀκαρις) son of Patmouis	35-36 A.D.	Philadelphiea
19	<i>SB XVI</i> 12740 col. 3 l. 16	Ἀκωρις father of Patmouis	35-36 A.D.	Philadelphiea
20	<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13 col. 12 l. 276 (= <i>Pap. Flor.</i> 19, 1990, p. 269)	Ἀκωρις	48-51 A.D.	Philadelphiea
21	<i>P. Ryl.</i> IV 595 l. 85	Hekoris father of Petesouchos	57 A.D.	Philadelphiea
22	<i>P. Ryl.</i> IV 595 l. 109	Hekoris son of Hekoro(s)	57 A.D.	Philadelphiea
23	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIL 2972 l. 25	son of Aristion	72 A.D.	Nemeron (Oxyrhynchites)
24	<i>BGU</i> II 526 ll. 8, 29, 39	Hakoris (Hekoris) son of Hakoris (Hekoris)	86 A.D.	Soknopaiou Nesos (Arsinoites)

³ Cf. *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXII, p. 141 n. 102. The variant "Εκηρις, with *eta*, is remarkable, but the demotic *Hkr* shows that it is the same name as in the other texts.

⁴ I read l. 28 as [Πε]τενοῦφρις Ἀπίωνος καὶ Ἀκωρις Ὀυ[νόφριος]. In the enumeration the scribe jumped from the accusative to the nominative, but he returned to the accusative in ll. 29-30.

25	<i>P. Berl. dem.</i> 23545 l. 4 (= <i>Enchoria</i> 7, 1977, p. 167)	Hgr son of <i>Rhm</i>	I-II A.D.	Soknopaiou Nesos (Arsinoites)
26	<i>P. Oxy.</i> II, p. 208	father of Hierax	145-146 A.D.	Oxyrhynchus
27	F.L. Griffith, <i>Cat.</i> <i>Dodecaschoenos</i> , Philae 315.1; Girt 2 (p. 39); F. Zucker, <i>Von Debod bis</i> <i>Kalabscha</i> III, p. 136	father of <i>P3-di-3s.t</i> [Peteesis is superin- tendent of the <i>qwe</i> (shrine?) of Isis] Πατεησε 'Ακαρ	172/173 A.D.	Philae
28	<i>P. Flor.</i> III 329 l. 49	father of Senpa- chompsais	early II A.D.	Apollonopolites Heptakomias
29	<i>P. Princ.</i> II 46	'Ακωρ(ις) Σατύρο(υ)	II A.D.	Oxyrhynchites
30	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XVII 2128 l. 3	father of Hatres	late II A.D.	Oxyrhynchites
31	<i>SB</i> I 5412	father of Sensisois	II/III A.D.	Panopolites
32	<i>SB</i> XIV 11908 l. 13	ἀμπελουργός	end III A.D.	s.l.
33	<i>CPR</i> V 11 l. 2	father of Aurelius Besis	ca. 300 A.D.	s.l.
34	<i>P. Amh.</i> II 139 l. 11 (= Wilcken, <i>Chrest.</i> 406)	father of Dios σιτο- λόγος	350 A.D.	Hermopolites
35	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XIX 2233 l. 4	father of Papnouthis	350 A.D.	Sesпта (Oxyrhynchi- tes)
36	<i>P. Mich.</i> VI 377 ll. 6,8	'Ακωρ()	350-400	Karanis
37	<i>P. Mich.</i> VIII 990	'Ακωρ() father of Pabous	IV A.D.	Karanis
38	<i>P. Oxy.</i> XLVIII 3411 ll. 6-7	τρόφιμος of Choous	IV A.D.	Oxyrhynchites
39	<i>P. Princ.</i> II 82	father of Aurelius Iovinus	481 A.D.	Lycopolis
40	<i>P. Antin.</i> 94 <i>passim</i>	'Ακώριος	VI A.D.	Antinoopolis
41	<i>P. Louvre Coptic</i> 3 (cf. <i>ZAS</i> 23, 1885, p. 151 n. 1)	ἡγάδορ	Byzantine period	Memphis

From the preceding list two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, the name *Hakoris* is rare in the early Ptolemaic period: no example in the archive of Zenon, none in the Petrie papyri. Secondly, it is found almost exclusively in Middle Egypt, from the Fayum and Memphis⁵ in the North to the Panopolite nome in the South. Hermoupolis and Oxyrhynchus form the centre of the area of about 350 km in which the name is sporadically found. Examples from Thebes (nos. 3, 14) and farther south (nos. 12, 28) are rare.

The above list is limited to occurrences in Greek and demotic papyri and inscriptions. It does not include the oldest example of the name in Greek transcription, that of king *Hakoris/Hgr*, pharaoh of the 29th dynasty, who reigned from 393 to 380 B.C.⁶ This king is called Ἰακωρίς, genit. Ἰακωρίδος, by Diodorus (XV *passim*)⁷, and Ἰαχωρίς by Manetho⁸. Posener⁹, who has collected the hieroglyphic examples of the name, going back to the Saite Period, points out that it may be derived from the ethnic *Hgr*. A demotic contract in which *Hgr.w* with Arabic names occur was recently published by E. Lüddeckens¹⁰. In the bilingual surety document *P. Lille dém.* II 59, the ethnic *Hgr*¹¹ is rendered in Greek (unpublished) as Ἰαραψ. But if the name is derived from the ethnic, one would expect the article, as in *P3-Igš*, Πεκῦσις, «the Ethiopian», or *P3-Išwr*, Πεσοῦρις, «the Syrian»^{11a}. Maybe therefore the derivation from the ethnic is not so certain. It should be noted that *Hakoris* is also used as the name of a god, e.g. in *SB VI* 9065 l. 12 (ἐντὸς τοῦ καινοῦ Ἰακωρίου περιβόλου)¹² and that therefore the link with the Arab tribe may be indirect.

⁵ J.W. TAIT informs me that one or two examples of the name occur in the unpublished demotic texts from Saqqara. Cf. also the hieroglyphic examples given by G. POSENER (n. 10) and the Aramaic transcription cited by J.B. SEGAL, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqara*, London 1983, no. 47 l. 3.

⁶ For the king, see H. DE MEULENAERE, in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, col. 931-932, and Cl. TRAUNECKER, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), p. 426-435.

⁷ For the genitive, see Diod. XV 3.4. The accusative is Ἰακωρίν in Diod. XV 2.3.

⁸ Ed. Waddell (Loeb edition), p. 179-180.

⁹ G. POSENER, *Rev. d'Ég.* 21 (1969), p. 148-150.

¹⁰ *ZÄS* 115 (1988), p. 52-61.

¹¹ For the reading, see H.-J. THISEN, *Enchoria* 4 (1974), p. 168.

^{11a} The onomastica of Preisigke and Foraboschi mention a woman's name Θακῶρις, *Θακῶρις*, but no corresponding man's name *Φακῶρις.

¹² For *Hakoris* as a divine name on an amulet, see already J.-Fr. LETRONNE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines de l'Égypte*, Paris 1842, p. 378-379.

2. THE NAME OF THE TOWN HAKORIS

References to the village Hakoris have been collected by A. Calderini and S. Daris¹³, and by Marie Drew-Bear¹⁴. The village is known under three different names: Tenis (living on in the modern Arabic name Tehne), Akoris and Krokodilon polis¹⁵. In the texts of the Ptolemaic period the second name is always written in the genitive, viz ἡ Ἀκώριος or Ἀκώρεως (κώμη)¹⁶. It is shortened into Ἀκωρίς only in the Roman period. This shows that the locality Tenis (Egyptian *Thn.t*) was renamed after a person Hakoris, either the pharaoh of the 29th dynasty or «un simple particulier»¹⁷. Since the earliest attestation of the toponym is in 141 B.C.¹⁸, the strategos Hakoris of the early second century B.C. (no.4 in the list above), whom we will discuss below, is a possible candidate as eponym of the village. Settlements named or renamed after local officials and/or landlords are well attested in Ptolemaic Egypt¹⁹.

3. AN IMPORTANT EGYPTIAN NOBLEMAN

Among the texts listed in section 1, only one (no. 4) is an inscription: *OGIS* I 94, recently reedited by E. Bernand²⁰. The text, carved in large well-cut letters high on the rocks above a natural grotto, is a monumental dedication (6 m long and 3 m high according to Lepsius) to a local manifestation of Isis by Hakoris son of Herieus. Under the text two seated gods are represented in Egyptian style and facing each other: Osiris on the right and Isis(?) on the left. The inscription is dated in the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes Eucharistos, and belongs to the period

¹³ *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* I 1, p. 46-48, and *Supplemento* I, p. 180, respectively.

¹⁴ *Le nome hermapolite. Toponymes et sites (American Stud. Papyr., 21)*, Missoula 1979, p. 291-296.

¹⁵ Cf. *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXII, p. 72-73 and K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 53 (1983), p. 261-262.

¹⁶ See *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXII, p. 70.

¹⁷ Thus Marie DREW-BEAR, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

¹⁸ The reference to *SB* V 8257 in Drew-Bear's list should be dropped, as will be shown below.

¹⁹ See Marie DREW-BEAR, *op. cit.*, p. 389. For the Fayum, see e.g. Andromachou and Nestou epoikion (the persons themselves are known from the Zenon archive), Dikaiou Nesos, Attinou Isieion, Ibion Argaiou, etc.

²⁰ *Inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akôris*, no. 1.

199/194 B.C. Notwithstanding his Egyptian name the dedicant had the dedication carved in Greek: he must have been an important local dignitary, who was at home in both the Greek and the Egyptian worlds.

Among the persons listed above only one belongs to the same social group. *P. Köln* IV 186 (no. 4 in the list above) is a report on military operations in Egypt no doubt during the sixth Syrian war (169-168 B.C.). A large number of prominent persons (ἐπίσημοι) were captured, «too many to enumerate them». Only three are mentioned by name: Harkonnesis, Euphron son of Hakoris and Apollonios «of the party of Antiochos» (no doubt the Syrian king Antiochos IV). All prisoners are sent away (to Alexandria?) except for Euphron [διὰ τὰς Ἀκώριος τοῦ πατρὸς χρείας. In other words Euphron's special treatment was largely due to the services his father Hakoris had given to the Ptolemies in an earlier period. It may seem bold to identify the father of Euphron with the dedicant of the inscription²¹, but apart from the date, the rarity of the name and the high social setting of both persons, we have an important onomastic argument: εὐφρων («cheery, merry» according to Liddell-Scott-Jones) is in fact a perfect translation of the Egyptian name *Hrj.w* (the verb *hrj* is rendered by «zufrieden sein» in Erichsen's *Glossar*, by «be pleased, satisfied, content» in Faulkner's dictionary)²². *Hrj.w* is usually transliterated in Greek as Ἐριεύς, of which Ἐργεύς in the inscription is a well-known variant²³.

If this identification is right, we can reconstruct the following genealogy. The grandson is named after his grandfather, as happens so often, but in the third generation the Egyptian name has been replaced by its Greek translation.

Herieus

|

Hakoris

|

Euphron

²¹ In the commentary on *P. Köln* IV 186 he is only cursorily referred to (p. 158).

²² Compare the double name Χαυρήμων ὃς καὶ Ἐριενοῦφης (*Pros. Ptol.* II 2561 = 3909), where *hrj* is rendered by Greek χαίρω; see also P.W. PESTMAN, *Pap. Lugd.-Bat.* 14 (1965), p. 59 n. 95.

²³ For Ἐργεύς as a variant of Ἐριεύς, see E. MAYSER-H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* I 1 (1970), p. 143 and F.T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* I (1976), p. 73.

There is a third bit of evidence for this family of Egyptian noblemen and officers, a text which has been often cited but hitherto always misunderstood. *SB* V 8257, recently reedited in *P. Col.* VIII 208, is a fragment of official correspondence about the dispatch of a boat. It mentions Komanos «of the first friends» and a boat which should be given a military escort (παραπέμψας) ἕως τοῦ ἐγδέξασθαι αὐτὸ τοὺς περὶ Ἀκωρίν. The latter sentence is partially preserved in l. 4 and, in shortened form, in ll. 9-10. The overlap allows for a certain supplement of the latter passage. This has been generally translated as «until its reception by those at Akoris». Nobody seems to have doubted that Akoris here is the earliest attestation of the alternative name of the town Tenis. This interpretation seemed to be confirmed by l. 5, where the first editor, W.L. Westermann, supplemented [περὶ Ἀκωρίν τοῦ Ἑρμοπο]λίτου. Recently it has even been suggested on the basis of this text that Komanos had his headquarters in the town of Achoris²⁴.

In fact this interpretation is highly unlikely. The expression οἱ περὶ τινα («NN and his people») is common both in classical Greek and in koine²⁵, whereas I could find only one example of the expression οἱ περὶ followed by a toponym²⁶. There can be no doubt, I think, that here too Ἀκωρίς is a personal name, and the idea of identifying this collaborator of Komanos with the man we have met with above is very attractive indeed.

The text is dated in an 18th year. Although the editors leave open the possibility of a date under Ptolemy VI (163 B.C.), the presence of the epistrategos Komanos points to an earlier date, under Epiphanes in 187 B.C.²⁷. In that case the military expression παραπέμψας ἀσφαλῶς («give it a safe military escort») in l. 9 takes its full weight: the text belongs to the period of the great Theban revolt and gives us a glimpse of the final campaign of Komanos against the rebel king Chaonnophris²⁸. Hakoris was apparently an ally of Komanos and the Ptolemies

²⁴ H. HAUBEN, *The Barges of the Komanos Family*, *AncSoc* 19 (1988), p. 207-208.

²⁵ For instances in the papyri, see E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II 1, p. 18-19.

²⁶ *UPZ* II 192 (cited by Mayser as *P. Tor* V): τῶν περὶ [τ]ῆ Μεινονεία. In parallel passages τῶν ἐν τοῖς Μεινονείοις is used (see Wilcken's note *ad loc.*). The two other instances given by E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* II 1, p. 18, are erroneous: in *P. Petrie* III 130 l. 6 (οἱ περὶ Κάνωπον) and *PSI* V 510 l. 7 (οἱ περὶ Ὀτσαρμώτην) the following word is a personal name, not a toponym.

²⁷ For the date, see *Pros. Ptol.* VIII 270 with bibliography, especially L. MOOREN, *La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque* (*Stud. Hell.*, 23), Leuven 1977, p. 74-78.

²⁸ For this campaign see most recently Katelijn VANDORPE, *The Chronology of the*

against the native kings and I have no doubt that «the services of Hakoris», mentioned in the Cologne papyrus, refer to exactly this period.

Thus the supplement in l. 5 becomes of prime importance. We have rejected above Westermann's proposal [περὶ Ἀκῶριν τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου], because Hakoris should be a personal name, not a place name. Moreover this supplement is too short for the lacuna, which can be exactly determined on the basis of l. 2 (24 letters) and l. 4 (25 letters). In l. 5 Westermann's supplement amounts to 19 letters only. A slight correction restores the number of letters needed and at the same time allows us to interpret Hakoris as a proper name: [περὶ Ἀκωριν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου] (25 letters) or [Κυνοπολίτου] (24 letters). If this is right, Hakoris was at the time of the revolt strategos of the Hermopolite or Cynopolite nome²⁹.

To this may now be added a small dossier recently published by A.E. Hanson and P.J. Sijpesteijn³⁰. Three fragmentary official letters from the first half of the second century B.C. are addressed to a certain Euphron. His exact title is not given, but he is active in the Cynopolite nome. As is pointed out by the editors, the village of Tenis-Akoris, though usually attributed to the Hermopolite nome, is situated by Claudius Ptolemaeus in the Cynopolite nome and the official in the new correspondence may be identical with or closely related to the man taken captive and released in *P. Köln* IV 186. In the third fragment mention is made of ἀποστάται, rebels, so that once again a member of our family is involved in civil warfare.

In their respective commentaries the editors of *P. Köln* IV 186 and of the Euphron dossier in *Ancient Society* refer to a Euphron, also associated with the village of Tênis-Akoris in 113 B.C., who had given his name to the measure of Euphron, employed in *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXII l. 10 (p3 qws 3wphrn). Pestman identifies this man with the κάτοικος

Reigns of Hurgonaphor and Chaonnophris, CE 61 (1986), p. 294-302, with further bibliography.

²⁹ For ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοπολίτου as an indication for the strategos of a single nomos, compare *Pros. Ptol.* I and VIII 375 (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτου), 375a (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου), 382a (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου), 385 (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Παθυρίτου). As L. Mooren points out to me, there may be a problem here: the title ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ + nomos is used as equivalent for the epistates of a single nome in the Thebaid. The Hermopolites and Cynopolites were not, however, part of the Thebaid and therefore the title is unexpected here.

³⁰ *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 133-145.

ἱππεύς Euphron son of Euphron (*Pros. Ptol.* II 2642), but the standard grain measure of the town is more likely to be that of the local leading family. The cleruch may have been a distant relative, or, more likely, some soldiers named their children after the leading local family.

CONCLUSION

If the prosopographical links proposed above are accepted, they show us an important native family emerging at the time of the great Theban revolt. The first known member of the family, Hakoris, took the side of the Ptolemies at a critical moment and in a region of strategic value. As governor of the Hermopolite (or Cynopolite?) nome, he may have controlled the fortress at Tennis, where the eastern valley is very narrow and the Arabian mountains nearly come up to the Nile. Hakoris displayed his loyalty by a monumental inscription on the cliffs in the early second century, when the whole South was in the hands of the rebels. Did he receive the village of Tennis as a personal *dorea* and was it renamed after him at that time? It does not seem unlikely.

His son Euphron illustrates the Hellenization of the family: his name is a Greek translation of that of his grandfather Herieus. Euphron became involved in the dynastic troubles of 169/168 B.C. and was captured, but set free again because of the good services of his father. He may have been identical with the official Euphron who was active in the Cynopolite nome later in the second century. The demotic transcription *3wphrn* in *P. Lugd.-Bat.* XXII 2 shows how far the family became hellenized, at least outwardly: even in a demotic document the Greek translation has superseded the original Egyptian name.

Given the relative rarity of the name, one wonders if Akoreus, who acted as a native consultant to Cleopatra VII according to Lucan³¹, was not a descendant of this same family. Lucan, however, says he is born in Memphis³², and the historicity of this character is not ascertained, so that further speculation is pointless.

B-3020 Veltem-Beisem
Grote Spekstraat 53

W. CLARYSSE
Onderzoekseleider NFWO

³¹ Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII 475; X 175, 193.

³² Lucan, *Pharsalia* VIII 477-478: «hunc genuit custos Nili crescentis in arva Memphis vana sacris».

THE MONUMENT OF THE EQUESTRIAN OFFICER
CN. PETRONIUS ASELLIO
(CIL XIII 6816 – MOGONTIACUM)*

In a recent study of the funerary monuments of equestrian officers in Italy under the late Republic and early Empire (50 B.C. – 100 A.D.)¹, the combining of the archaeological, iconographical and epigraphical elements yielded a typology and chronology of these monuments, as well as a picture of the historical and institutional background.

It is within this framework that I now wish to discuss one of the oldest Roman monuments of Mogontiacum. Let us first take a look at the monument, and then turn our attention to its date, the honorand's *cursus honorum* and finally the iconography.

The stele was discovered in September 1874 in Mainz (Walpoden / Emmerich-Joseph-Straße) on its original site, still fixed to its plinth by means of a lead plug². This pedestal (length: 1,05 m; height: 0,39 m; thickness: 0,64 m) was not moved to the Landesmuseum – Mainz³. The monument itself, i.e. without its original plinth, was exhibited in the aforesaid museum⁴ (plate 1): height: 1,99 m; width: 1 m; thickness:

* For valuable assistance and for photographs I wish to thank Dr. Karl-Viktor DECKER (Landesmuseum Mainz), Dr. Ernst KÜNZL, Frau Helga PREMPER (Bibliothekarin, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz). But I am especially indebted to Dr. Walburg BOPPERT (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz) who let me consult the proofs of the *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* (Deutschland, II 5, forthcoming); in addition, I had the opportunity to extensively discuss the interpretation of the monument in question with her and Dr. Künzl. The present study was realized with the support of the "Center for Interdisciplinary Archaeology – IUAP/PIA 28".

¹ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONGERHEM, *The Funerary Monuments of Equestrian Officers of the Late Republic and Early Empire in Italy (50 B.C. – 100 A.D.)*, *AncSoc* 21 (1990), p. 59-98, 37 fig.

² *Verzeichnis der römischen, germanisch-fränkischen, mittelalterlichen und neueren Denkmäler des Museums der Stadt Mainz*, hrsg. von dem Vereine zur Erforschung der rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthümer in Mainz, I. *Inschriften und Steinsculpturen aus römischer Zeit*, Mainz 1875, p. XIX no. 228a: vgl. *Mainzer Tagblatt* 1874 no. 211 of 11 September.

³ E. KÜNZL, *Germanien und Rom, in Kaiser Augustus und die verlorene Republik*. (Eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau), Berlin, 7. Juni – 14. August 1988, Berlin 1988, p. 567-568 no. 394; W. SELZER, unter Mitarbeit von K.-V. DECKER und A. DO PAÇO, *Römische Steindenkmäler. Mainz in römischer Zeit*. (Katalog zur Sammlung in der Steinhalle), Mainz 1988, p. 148 no. 70.

⁴ "Original: Mainz, Landesmuseum, Inv. S.610; Abguß: Mainz: Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Inv. 33879".

CN·PETRONIVS
CN·F·POM
ASELLIO
TRIB·MILITVM
PRÆF·EQVIT
PRÆF·FABRVM
TI · CAESARIS ·

0 10 20 cm

A horizontal scale bar with tick marks at 0, 10, and 20 cm.

max. 0,30 m. The monument is made of Jura limestone from Lorraine⁵, is of the *aedicula*-type⁶ and has three components: the upper part with the pointed gable has not survived intact; the central part with the epigraphical field is flanked by two columns with Corinthian capital and is supported by three Toscan columns; finally there is a smooth band (height: 0,30 m) which, together with the block not taken to the museum, formed the plinth.

For a full description of the monument the reader is referred to the relevant publications⁷, in particular to the study by W. Boppert⁸ — where an exhaustive bibliography can be found. We will confine ourselves here to the epigraphical field, whence we will briefly discuss the date and the officer's *cursus honorum*. These data will then serve as the basis for a new interpretation of the iconography of the gable — tympanon.

The epigraphical field is 61 cm high and 56 cm wide and contains the following inscription (plate 2):

- l. 1: 7 cm (T:8; I:7,5; S:3,5)
- l. 2: 6 cm (F:7)
- l. 3: 6,5 cm (I:7)
- l. 4: 5,5 cm (T:7; I:6,5; T:6,5)
- l. 5: 5 cm (F:6; T:6,5)
- l. 6: 5 cm (F:6)
- l. 7: 5,5 cm (T:6,5)

Cn(aeus) Petronius | Cn(aei) f(ilius) Pom(ptina tribu) | Asellio,
| trib(unus) militum, | praef(ectus) equit(um), | praef(ectus)
fabrum | Ti(berii) Caesaris.

On l. 7 traces are discernible of two *hederae distinguentes*, as on l. 2 as well⁹. On ll. 5 and 6 there is an *apex* above the A of PRAEF. The R is

⁵ C. STRIBRNY, *Die Herkunft der römischen Werksteine aus Mainz und Umgebung. Vergleichende petrographische und geochemische Untersuchungen an skulptierten Kalksteinen* (Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani. Corpus der Skulpturen der römischen Welt. Deutschland, Band II 8: *Germania Superior*), Mainz 1987, no. 12: «Stratigraphie: Jura, Dogger – mögliche Herkunft: Dogger, Lothringer Jura».

⁶ W. Boppert, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Band II 5. *Germania Superior. Mogontiacum* (forthcoming), no. 59, Tafel 55.

⁷ See nn. 2, 3 & 5; *CIL* XIII 6816, Add. p. 108; K. KÖRBER, *Einige römische Grabdenkmäler, die aus Mainz stammen oder im Altertumsmuseum daselbst aufbewahrt werden*, *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 10 (1915), xi, p. 118-120 no. 1; E. ESPÉRANDIEU, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, VII. *Gaule germanique*, I. *Germanie supérieure*, Paris 1918, p. 326-327 no. 5813.

⁸ See n. 6.

⁹ K. KÖRBER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 119.

incised in two ways: Q (ll. 1, 4, 5) and R (ll. 6, 7). The tail of the Q (l. 5) is not yet curled:

All these palaeographical elements place the inscription at the end of the Republic or under Augustus¹⁰. More on a closer dating anon.

The palaeography, then, is far from uniform and the quality of the incised text is by no means perfect; this may indicate that it was a hurried job entrusted to a local mason¹¹.

The career of this equestrian officer is typical of the very beginning of the Principate, in particular of the period of Augustus. The units in which the officer served — *legio*, *ala* — are not specified, which is typical of the period¹². Cn. Petronius Asellio¹³ held the nucleus of the later *tres militiae*, viz. the *tibunatus militum (legionis)*, the *praefectura equitum (alae)*, whereas the *praefectura cohortis* — from Claudius the *militia prima* — is still missing¹⁴.

Finally, Cn. Petronius Asellio became *praefectus fabrum Tiberii Caesaris*. The exact date of this post as well as its essence merit our attention. The formula *Ti(berii) Caesaris* situates the inscription prior to Tiberius' reign, i.e. before 14 A.D. Tiberius was supreme commander of the Rhine armies three times: 9-7 B.C., 4-6 A.D., and 10-12 A.D.¹⁵ H.G. Frenz¹⁶ links the *praefectura fabrum Tiberii Caesaris* of Cn. Petronius Asellio with Tiberius' second command (4-6 A.D.) and the building of the *tumulus*-monument, a cenotaph for Drusus, the former commander-in-chief of the Rhine forces. This seems to me purely hypothetical and cannot be proved. Asellio's presence in Mogontiacum

¹⁰ R. CAGNAT, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, Paris 1914⁴, p. 20-21: Q + R, p. 27-28: *apex* and *hederae distinguentes*; pl. V no. 4; K. PAASCH ALMAR, *Inscriptiones Latinae. Eine illustrierte Einführung in die lateinische Epigraphik*, Odense 1990, p. 43-45.

¹¹ E. KÜNZL, *loc. cit.* (n. 3).

¹² H. DEVIJVER, *Suétone, Claude, 25, et les milices équestres*, *AncSoc* 1 (1970), p. 69-81, esp. p. 70-71 = *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army (Mavors. Roman Army Researches, 6)*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 16-28, esp. p. 17-18.

¹³ For the career of Cn. Petronius Asellio see H. DEVIJVER, *Prosopographia Militiarum Equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum [PME]* (*Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis*, Ser. A/3, vol. II), Lovanii 1977, P21 & vol. IV Suppl. I, Lovanii 1987, P21; see also S. DEMOUGIN, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens* (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 108), Paris-Roma 1988, p. 341, 353-354, 825 no. 126.

¹⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 12).

¹⁵ E. KÜNZL, *loc. cit.* (n. 3).

¹⁶ *Drusus Maior und sein Monument zu Mainz*, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32 (1985), p. 394-421, esp. p. 417 n. 217.

is presumably to be placed between 4 and 12 A.D.¹⁷ Perhaps he was *praefectus equitum* there and detached by Tiberius to be his *praefectus fabrum*¹⁸. The *praefectura fabrum* in this period probably still had a military significance, and could be held between the *militiae* or after them¹⁹. Claudius did not include the *praefectura fabrum* among the *militiae equestres*; from then on the post is usually held in the service of a consul, or a provincial governor. The *praefectura fabrum* becomes a preparatory stage, so to speak, of the *militiae equestres*²⁰. In addition, there is a *praefectura fabrum* in a municipal context²¹.

¹⁷ Ti. Claudius Nero was adopted by Augustus in 4 A.D.; from then his name is Ti. Iulius Caesar, in the inscriptions often Ti. Caesar: see U. SCHILLINGER-HÄFELE, *Consules Augusti. Caesares. Datierung von römischen Inschriften und Münzen* (Schriften des Limes-museums Aalen, 37), Stuttgart 1986, p. 52; D. KIENAST, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1990, p. 77.

¹⁸ W. SELZER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 65-77, esp. p. 71: survey of the *alae* in Mogontiacum (13 B.C.– 68 A.D.); for the meaning of the *praefectura fabrum* see B. DOBSON, *The 'praefectus fabrum' in the Early Principate*, in *Britain and Rome*, Kendal 1966, p. 61-84; D.B. SADDINGTON, *Praefecti fabrum of the Julio-Claudian Period*, in *Festschrift A. Betz*, Wien 1985, p. 529-546; R. SABLAYROLLES, *Les 'praefecti fabrum' de Narbonnaise*, *RArch-Narb* 77 (1984), p. 239-247. A survey of the known equestrian officers in an emperor's service as *praefectus fabrum*:

- [Ti. Claud]ius [Ba]llbillus, praef[ectus] fabrum divi Cla[udii] et [trib(unus) milit(um) le]g[ionis] XX [et d(onis) d(onatus) in triu]m[pho a divo] Claudio [corona murali et vexillo et hasta] pura, ad legationes etc. (H. DEVIJVER, *PME* I & IV, C124; ID., *Mavors* 6 [n. 12], p. 283, 295, 309, 313, 367, 374). Balbillus was presumably *praefectus fabrum* and at the same time *tribunus militum*; he probably accompanied Claudius as astrologer on the *expeditio Britannica* in 43 A.D. (for Claudius' personal physician during the same expedition, C. Stertinius Xenophon, see *PME* II & IV, S79; ID., *Mavors* 6, p. 69, 290-291, 296, 308-309, 311, 313, 367, 371, 374);
- [G]l[au]tius Barbarus, prim[us] p[ro]p[ri]etarius, praef[ectus] coh[ortis] / equit(um)?, [tribunus militum, praef[ectus] fabrum] Ti. C[la]udi Cae[s]aris Aug[ust]i Germ[anic]i –] (*PME* I, G19);
- C. Manlius Felix, trib. mil. leg. VII[I] C[la]udia p.f., adlect(us) in decur[ia]s iudic(um) selector(um) a divo Tito, praef[ectus] fabrum Imp[er]atoris Caesaris Nervae Trai[an]i Germ[anic]i Dacici II (*PME* II & IV, M22);
- M. Trebellius Sextanus, Ilvir, Ilvir quinq., tr. mil., praef[ectus] fabrum Aug[ust]i (*PME* II, T33).

¹⁹ H. DEVIJVER, *PME* III, *Indices*, p. 1254-1255.

²⁰ See the bibliography in n. 18 and H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 12); S. DEMOUGIN, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 293-298.

²¹ For municipal *praefecti fabrum*, e.g. from Poetovio, Pannonia Superior, see G. AL-FÖLDY, *Die 'Valerii' in Poetovio*, *Arheoloski Vestnik* 15/16 (1964/65), p. 137-144; ID., *Epigraphica, Situla* 8 (1965), p. 93-112, esp. p. 99-103: «Revidierte Inschriften aus Poetovio und Aquae Balissae»; H. DEVIJVER, *The Monument of an Equestrian Officer (?) from Poetovio, Pannonia Superior*, in *Festschrift J. Fitz. Jahrbuch des König Stephan Museums* 1991 (forthcoming).

For Cn. Petronius Asellio the *praefectura fabrum Ti(berii) Caesaris* was the high point of his career. Asellio must have been a native of Italy, as the *tribus Pomptina* is not found outside the peninsula²². From Arretium, Regio VII, which belonged to the *tribus Pomptina*²³, a homonym is known: Cn. Petronius Cn.f. Asellio²⁴. What was the relationship between these namesakes from Mogontiacum and Arretium? Some scholars offer no opinion on this matter²⁵, while others assume identity²⁶ or kinship²⁷. Thus G. Ciampoltrini²⁸ regards the homonym from Arretium as the son of the equestrian officer from Mogontiacum.

The *gens Petronia* of Arretium traced its origins to the Etruscan gens of the *Petrni* and is attested in comparatively high numbers there²⁹. At the beginning of the Principate the Petronii belonged to the municipal elite and were certainly able to provide equestrian officers. The funerary monument that Cn. Petronius Asellio had erected for himself and his wife Ciartia Procula³⁰ is of the type favoured in precisely this period among the municipal elite, in particular the equestrian officers. Consider: the surviving block comes from a circular tumulus-monument, *ex rotundo monumento marmoreo*³¹. In several studies the present author

²² W. KUBITSCHKE, *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum*, Wien 1889, s.v. *Pomptina*: Italia, Regio I (Circei, Setia (?), Ulubrae), Regio III (Atina, Buxentum, Grumentum, Potentia, Tegianum (?), Volcei), Regio VII (Arretium, Volsinii), Regio IX (Dertona); a number of persons of Hispanic origin (e.g. *EE* VII 897, *CIL* VIII 3245) probably received the citizenship *virritim* from Galba.

²³ See preceding note.

²⁴ *CIL* XI 1856: Ciartiae L.f. Proculae uxori et s[ib]l Cn. Petronius Cn. [f.] Asellio.

²⁵ W. BOPPERT, *op. cit.* (n. 6); E. KÜNZL, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

²⁶ *CIL* XIII 6816, Add. p. 108.

²⁷ H. DEVIJVER, *PME* I, P21.

²⁸ *Il monumento dell' augustale Constans a Lucca, Prospettiva. Rivista di Storia dell' Arte Antica e Moderna* 25 (1981), p. 37-42, esp. p. 38, 41 n. 20.

²⁹ See K. WYLIN, *Arezzo. Prosopografische studie van een Etruskisch-Romeinse stad*, Leuven 1989 (unpublished licentiate's dissertation; supervisor: F. Van Wonterghem), who lists attestations of the *Petrni*/*Petronii* from the 2nd/1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.; M. TORELLI, *Senatori etruschi della tarda repubblica e dell' impero, Dialoghi di Archeologia* 3 (1969), p. 285-363; Id., *Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine Italia: Regio VII (Etruria)*, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, II. *Tituli*, 5, Roma 1982, p. 275-299, esp. p. 289: Arretium; to the north of present-day Arezzo there is still a locality with the toponym *Petrognano*; according to an indication in the museum the block of Cn. Petronius Asellio would stem from this place.

³⁰ M. TORELLI, *art. cit.* (n. 29), p. 289: «L. Ciartius, pontifex 101-2, discendente dalla famiglia di *Ciartia L.f. Procula* moglie del cavaliere Cn. *Petronius Asellio*, di età tiberiana».

³¹ *CIL* XI 1856: «alt. 0,89 ex rotundo monumento marmoreo».

has extensively demonstrated that the Italian municipal elite, and especially the equestrian officers among them, preferred this type of funerary monument at the outset of the Principate, presumably in emulation of the *Mausoleum Augusti*³². Can this Arretine mausoleum have belonged to the officer who served in Mogontiacum, or to his family? On the one hand, it will be noted that the inscription of Arretium gives no military career for the deceased; on the other hand, the iconography of the rest of the mausoleum — now unknown to us — could well have revealed the status of equestrian officer without any explicit reference thereto in the inscription³³.

The question may also be asked whether Cn. Petronius Asellio, who probably died in Mogontiacum, was actually buried there. The Mogontiacum monument was not situated in a necropolis, but was set up near the *porta praetoria*, in the vicinity of the street³⁴. The *aedicula*-type points to a funerary context, but the total lack of funerary formulae in combination with its situation are rather reminiscent of a cenotaph³⁵.

Cn. Petronius Asellio was surely an *Italicus* who served in Mogontiacum, in the reign of Augustus, as *praefectus fabrum* of Tiberius Caesar, the commander-in-chief of the Rhine army, in 4-6 of 10-12 A.D. The officer's provenance and the period in which his monument was erected seem to me to justify the proposal of a new interpretation of the gable, the tympanon of the *aedicula* stele.

In the existing literature the iconography of the tympanon (photo 3) has been more or less exactly described³⁶, but its symbolism has, in my opinion, not usually been understood³⁷. The round shield, with *umbo*,

³² H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *art. cit.* (n. 1); H. DEVIJVER, *The Equestrian Officers and their Monuments*, in *Mavors* 6 (n. 12), p. 416-449, esp. p. 417-421; F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Monumento funerario di un 'tribunus militum' a Corfinio*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia* 21 (1982), p. 99-125.

³³ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *art. cit.* (n. 1).

³⁴ W. BOPPERT, *op. cit.* (n. 6); E. KÜNZL, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

³⁵ The Drusus-monument at Mogontiacum was also a cenotaph; see H.G. FRENZ, *art. cit.* (n. 16).

³⁶ A few instances from the bibliography: *Verzeichnis* (n. 2): «ein kleiner runder Schild (parma) ..., unter welchem sich zwei Speere (pila?) kreuzen»; K. KÖRBER, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 118: «... Giebeldreiecks ist ein Rundschild angebracht, hinter dem sich zwei Speere kreuzen»; E. ESPÉRANDIEU, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 327: «Dans le fronton, un bouclier rond posé sur deux lances placées en sautoir entre deux palmettes»; E. KÜNZL, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 567: «Den Giebel schmücken Rundschild, zwei Lanzen und Voluten».

³⁷ To my knowledge only Th. SCHÄFER, *Imperii insignia: sella curulis und fasces. Zur Repräsentation römischer Magistrate*, Mainz 1989, who in a footnote points out the correct meaning of the tympanon of the monument of Cn. Petronius Asellio: p. 342 n. 721; see also p. 312 n. 520.

is the *parma equestris* placed over two crossed lances — *hastae*, the symbol par excellence of the *ordo equester* — and this precisely in the period under discussion and abundantly attested in Italy. To the left and right of the *parma equestris* volutes are pictured.

In the already mentioned study³⁸ of the funerary monuments of the equestrian officers from Italy (late Republic / early Empire) a survey is given of the iconography of the *parma equestris* over two crossed *hastae*. Consultation of that study will show that the specimen from Mogontiacum fits perfectly in that series of parallel sources from Italy. The question must be asked, however, whether the *parma equestris* always serves as a symbol of an *eques Romanus* or equestrian officer. For sometimes this symbolism is used on the monuments of manifestly different social groups, e.g. the *seviri*. A well-known example is the funerary stele of L. Aebutius Faustus, L(uci) l(ibertus), *ensor*, *Vivir*, from Eporedia (Ivrea, Museo Civico)³⁹. In the tympanon crowning the monument the *parma* appears over two crossed *hastae*. But is it a *parma equestris*? The Eporedia stele is dated mid to late 1st century A.D.⁴⁰; we may be dealing with a usurpation⁴¹ of the *parma equestris* by a wealthy freedman, a *sevir*, who presumably qualified amply for the *census equester* but was not therefore legally an *eques Romanus*. The Eporedia stele dates from a period — after the Julio-Claudian dynasty — in which the *parma equestris* was in my view no longer an adequate symbol of the equestrian order. That is to say: at the end of the Republic and in the period of Augustus–Tiberius–Caligula the *tribunatus militum angusticlavius* in a legion was the *militia equestris* ‘par excellence’. Sometimes the *eques Romanus* also held the *praefectura equitum* and/or *praefectura fabrum*. After Claudius’ reform the system of the *tres*, later *quattuor militiae*⁴² was instituted and the *militiae equestres* became a preliminary stage towards the *procuratela*, which were ever expanding⁴³. Furthermore, the higher *praefecturae*, such as

³⁸ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *art. cit.* (n. 1).

³⁹ For an extensive discussion of this grave stele (*CIL* V 6786) see Th. SCHÄFER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 341–343; see also p. 312 n. 520.

⁴⁰ Th. SCHÄFER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 342 n. 729–731.

⁴¹ F. KOLB, *Zur Statussymbolik im antiken Rom*, *Chiron* 7 (1977), p. 239–259.

⁴² H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 12).

⁴³ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Abrégé des procurateurs équestres*, Paris 1974, p. 9, 14, 39: under Augustus there were 23 procuratorial posts, under Domitian 64, and in the year 249 as many as 182!

the *praefectura annonae* or *Aegypti*⁴⁴, now became the pinnacle of the equestrian career.

The *parma equestris* over two crossed *hastae* was the symbol *par excellence* of the equestrian officers in the age of Augustus⁴⁵. Presumably this symbolism is to be seen in the context of a broader Augustean policy to make the *ordo equester* the second social class⁴⁶. The equestrian order, recruited mostly out of the wealthy municipal elite, was dispersed over the *municipia* and *coloniae* of the whole empire and was therefore much more heterogeneous than the *ordo senatorius*. It was Augustus' intention to forge a close, homogeneous second order, the *ordo equester*. He appealed to the local *curiae* to provide suitable candidates for the *tribunatus angusticlavius* in a legion, viz. the *tribuni militum a populo*⁴⁷. Augustus also took to heart the recruiting base of the equestrian officers, the *iuventus* of Rome and of the municipal elite. With grand propaganda he brings — perhaps already existing but slumbering — organizations to new life: the *collegia iuvenum*⁴⁸. The two princes C. and L. Caesar become the *principes iuventutis* of the entire *ordo equester*⁴⁹. Numerous coins are struck in honour of the *principes iuventutis*, with the *parma equestris* over two crossed *hastae*⁵⁰. The construction of a *campus* in many *municipia* and *coloniae* of the

⁴⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *L'Égypte et l'histoire de l'armée romaine*, in *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto*, edd. L. CRISCUOLO – G. GERACI, Bologna 1989, p. 37-54.

⁴⁵ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *art. cit.* (n. 1): virtually all examples from Italy are from the period late Republic – Augustus. See also Th. SCHÄFER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 342 n. 721: T. Iunius Montanus (*PME* I & IV, I148): this officer's funerary stele — or cenotaph? — also from the time of Augustus, was likewise decorated with the *parma equestris* over the two crossed *hastae*. To this monument I will devote a separate study in *AncSoc* 23 (1992): *The Monument of the Equestrian Officer T. Iunius Montanus* (*AIJ* 173 – *Emona*). See also *CIL* V 7605 (Alba Pompeia, Regio IX, Italia): C. Cornelius C.f. Cam(ilia) Germanus, aed(ilis), q(uaestor), IIvir, praef(ectus) fabr(um), iudex ex V dec(ur)iis, flamen divi Aug(usti), sibi et Valeriae M. filiae Marcellae, uxori optimaе; see S. DEMOUGIN, *Les juges des cinq décuries originaires de l'Italie*, *AncSoc* 6 (1975), p. 143-202, esp. p. 150-151 no. 10; C. Cornelius Germanus was surely a Roman knight of the 1st century. For his monument see photos 4-7. On the back of his monument (photo 5) the *parma equestris* is indeed to be found over two crossed *hastae*.

⁴⁶ D. KIENAST, *Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, esp. p. 151-162.

⁴⁷ C. NICOLET, *Tribuni militum a populo*, *MEFR* 79 (1967), p. 29-76.

⁴⁸ P. GINESTET, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident romain* (*Collection Latomus*, 213), Bruxelles 1991.

⁴⁹ *Res gestae divi Augusti* 14.2.

⁵⁰ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 94 n. 195; D. KIENAST, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 153-154 n. 113.

West⁵¹ must be seen in this policy to give the youth of the municipal elite a sporty, if not para-military training⁵². Thus Augustus wants to promote the *parma equestris* over two crossed *hastae* into a status symbol of the equestrian order, which was to play such an important role in the structure of the Principate⁵³.

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⁵¹ H. DEVIJVER – F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Il 'campus' nell' impianto urbanistico delle città romane: testimonianze epigrafiche e resti archeologici*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia* 20 (1981), p. 36-68; *Ancora sul 'campus' delle città romane*, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia* 21 (1982), p. 93-98; *Der 'campus' der römischen Städte in Italia und im Westen*, *ZPE* 54 (1984), p. 195-206; *Neue Belege zum 'campus' der römischen Städte in Italia und im Westen*, *ZPE* 60 (1985), p. 147-158.

⁵² P. GINESTET, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 15, draws a distinction between the *collegia iuvenum* and the *iuventutes*: «les *Collegia iuvenum* bourgeois, urbains, très romanisés, répandus surtout en Italie, et les *Iuventutes* rurales ou provinciales, moins raffinées, socialement plus ouvertes, et plus militarisées, disposées en guirlande sur les frontières les plus menacées. Seules les *Iuventutes* avaient une réelle valeur paramilitaire. Les *Collegia iuvenum* n'en avaient que l'apparence. Ils s'intéressaient avant tout aux jeux».

⁵³ D. KIENAST, *op. cit.* (n. 46); see also W. ECK, *Augustus' administrative Reformen: Pragmatismus oder systematisches Planen*, *Acta Classica* 29 (1986), p. 105-120.



Photo 1. — CIL XIII 6816 (Cn. Petronius Asellio - Mogontiacum).
Landesmuseum Mainz. Inv. Nr. S 610.



Photo 2. — Detail of photo 1.



Photo 3. — Detail of photo 1.



Photo 4. — CIL V 7605 (Alba Pompeia, front).
Città di Alba. Civico Museo Archeologico e di Scienze Naturali.

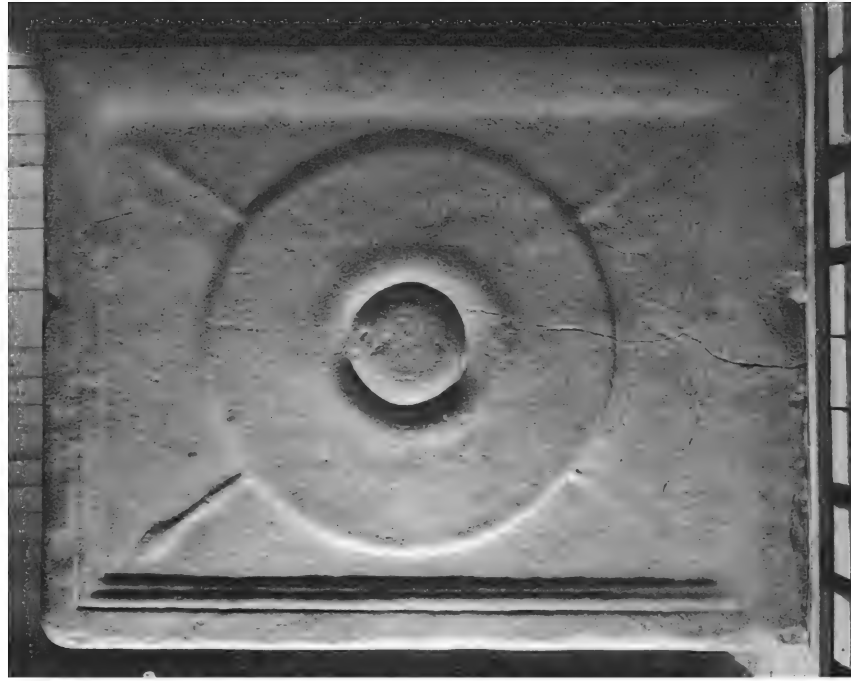


Photo 5. — CIL V 7605 (Alba Pompeia, back).
Città di Alba. Civico Museo Archeologico e di Scienze Naturali.



Photo 6. — CIL V 7605 (Alba Pompeia; lateral face).
Città di Alba. Civico Museo Archeologico e di Scienze Naturali.



Photo 7. — CIL V 7605 (Alba Pompeia; lateral face).
Città di Alba. Civico Museo Archeologico e di Scienze Naturali.

M. ARRUNTIVS CLAVDIANVS ET L'ANNEXION ROMAINE DE LA DOBROVDJA

Nos recherches plus anciennes ou plus récentes concernant la carrière du fameux Lycien M. Arruntius Claudianus ne sont guère le fruit d'études spéciales de prosopographie. Mais en tant qu'archéologue et historien de la contrée située entre le Danube et la Mer Noire (province appelée, de nos jours, la Dobroudja et qui, pendant l'Antiquité représentait l'extrémité orientale de la Mésie Inférieure), il nous fallait — puisque la carrière de Claudianus semblait pouvoir être liée au moment de l'annexion de la Dobroudja par les Romains — examiner de nouveau la série de documents qui le concernaient, ce qui nous a permis d'en tirer des conclusions nouvelles en regard de celles formulées précédemment. Et si nous reprenons à présent ce thème, c'est aussi parce qu'une partie tout au moins d'entre elles nous paraissent avoir été confirmée par d'éminents spécialistes en matière de prosopographie¹.

* * *

Parmi les nombreux documents qui se rapportent à Claudianus et qui ne cessent de s'accroître, il y en a trois qui présentent un intérêt particulier, à savoir:

1. *IGR* III 627 = *TAM* II 394 (Xanthos):

[...τῶν Σ]εβαστῶν σείτου οὐ [...τῆς | μητροπ]όλεως τοῦ Λυκίων
ἔθν[ους...| τῆς πό]λεως ἡμῶν, Κλαύδια Τι[...ἐκ τῶν κατὰ] διαθήκην
ἀπολειφθέν[των | ὑπὸ....Κλα]υδιανοῦ εὐεργέ[του].

2. *IGR* III 615 = *ILS* 8821 = *TAM* II 282 (Xanthos):

[....]ος Κλαυδιανὸς |[.....]ος τὰς ἐν ἱππικῇ [τάξει ἀρχὰς διελθὼν]
μέχρι ἐπιτροπ[ικῶν, τοῦ ἔθ]νους] πρῶτος συνκλητικὸς [στρατηγὸς |
δή]μου Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρεσβε[υτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος | ἐπ]αρχείων
Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἀσία[ς καὶ λεγεῶν]|ος δευτέρας Τραϊανῆς [ἰσχυρὰς καὶ
ἀ]νθύπατος Μακεδ[ονίας],| τῇ πατρίδι, τῇ μητροπ[όλει].

¹ Je tiens à remercier ici M. le prof. H. Devijver, qui a bien voulu parrainer la publication de cette modeste contribution.

3. D. KNIBBE, *JÖAI* 49 (1968-71), *Beibl.*, col. 5-6 = *AE* 1972, 572:

M(arcum) Arruntium M(arci) [fili]um Ter(etina) | Claudian[u]m, praef(ectum) coh[ort]is), | tribunum [bis], praef(ectum) ala[e] et] | vex[il]li prae[to]rianorum, doni[s] mill[ita]ribu[s] don]atum hasta pur[a, | ve]xillis ar[gente]is c[orona] aurea | [e]t coron[a], proc(uratorem)] Romae fru[menti] comparandi] it(em) praef(ectum) class(is) | [Moe-sicae et ripae Dan]uvi(i), | [ad]lectum in amplissi[mum] ordine[m] | inter aed[il]icios, pra[etor]em p[opuli] R[omani], leg(atum) | [pr(o) pr(ae-tore) p]rovinciarum A[chaj]iae et | Asiae bis C(aius) Vibius Salutaris a[mico] suo].

M(ἄρκον) Ἀρρούτιον Κλαυ[διανόν], | ἔπαρχον σπειρήs, δίς ξειλία[ρχον], δίς | ἔπαρχον εἰληs, ἐπίτροπον ἐ[v] | Ῥώμη ἐπὶ τοῦ σείτου, ἔπαρχον τοῦ | ἐν Μοισίαι στόλου καὶ τῆs ὄχθης, | καταλελεγμένον εἰς σύνκλητον | ἐν τοῖς ἀγορανομικοῖς, στρατηγὸν | δήμου Ῥωμαίων, πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀ[v]τιστράτηγον ἐπαρχειῶν Ἀχαιίας | Ἀσίας δίς. | Γ(αῖος) Οὐεῖβιος Σαλουτάρης φίλῳ | καὶ εὐεργέτῃ ἰδιῳι.

Les deux premières inscriptions, connues dès la fin du siècle dernier, ont déjà fait l'objet de toute une littérature dont l'évocation ne nous semble pas superflue, même plus d'un siècle après la découverte des textes en question. Ainsi, par exemple, E. Klebs, tenant compte des observations de Mommsen, situe la légation de la légion IIa Traiana soit au moment où celle-ci aurait stationné hors d'Égypte et lorsqu'elle aurait pu être dirigée par un légat sénatorial (en Égypte, elle n'aurait pu l'être que par un chevalier), soit plus tard après Élagabal, lorsque la distinction entre les fonctions équestres et sénatoriales devient plus malaisée². Deux ans plus tard, Ed. Groag rejette cette datation et indique comme moment apogée de la carrière de Claudianus, le règne de Marc Aurèle et de Verus³. La contribution ultérieure de H. Dessau est importante dans la mesure où elle a réussi à démontrer que notre personnage ne fut pas le premier de sa famille (... τοῦ γένους]) à avoir été coopté dans le sénat, comme l'inscription n° 2 avait été complétée au début, mais le premier parmi les Lyciens (... τοῦ ἔθνους])⁴. Cette proposition avait le mérite de créer les prémisses nécessaires pour dater la carrière de Claudianus plus tôt qu'on ne l'avait fait jusqu'alors. L'argument décisif allait cependant être fourni par E. Ritterling: Claudianus ne pouvait se trouver à la tête de la légion IIa Traiana qu'à une

² E. KLEBS, *PIR* I (1897) C621, p. 346, s.v. ...us Claudianus.

³ Ed. GROAG, *RE* III (1899), col. 2651, s.v. Claudianus.

⁴ H. DESSAU, *ILS* 8821.

date située entre 100/101 — le moment de sa création — et 119/127, date où elle fut transférée en Égypte et à partir de laquelle elle ne fut plus dirigée par des légats de rang sénatorial⁵. Depuis lors, on commence à situer couramment la carrière sénatoriale de Claudianus à l'époque de Trajan. C'est le cas chez A. Stein, dans son étude de l'ordre équestre⁶, ou encore quand il évoque l'ensemble de la carrière de Claudianus⁷, chez Ed. Groag dans l'étude qu'il consacre aux gouverneurs d'Achaïe⁸ — après avoir suggéré au début à Stein que le personnage aurait pu s'appeler, selon *TAM* II 361, Arruntius Claudianus — ou bien chez D. Magie⁹. Dans ces conditions, il est plus difficile de comprendre la position de H.-G. Pflaum, suivant laquelle "on peut conclure que c'est au début du II^e siècle que ce Lycien figure dans l'administration équestre"¹⁰ et, encore davantage, celle de E. Birley situant, lui aussi, les milices équestres d'Arruntius Claudianus (τὰς ἐν ἱππικῇ [τάξει ἀρχὰς διελθὼν] μέχρι ἐπιτροπ[ικῶν...]) au début du II^e siècle¹¹. Les prises de position ultérieures, dont celles de H.-G. Pflaum¹² ou Leiva Petersen¹³, concernant le gouvernement de la Macédoine par Arruntius Claudianus — selon le premier en 120 et, selon la seconde, après 114 — ou bien encore de W. Eck¹⁴ situant la carrière sénatoriale de notre personnage à l'époque de Trajan ou même plus tard, à celle d'Hadrien, n'apportent évidemment pas de grandes nouveautés.

La découverte du document n° 3 d'Éphèse allait provoquer un revirement complet de la vision sur la carrière du premier sénateur lycien. L'inscription fut tout d'abord signalée par Fr. Eichler dont la

⁵ E. RITTERLING, *RE* XII (1925), col. 1484-1485, s.v. legio.

⁶ A. STEIN, *Der römische Ritterstand*, München 1927, p. 219, 238, 269 et 404.

⁷ A. STEIN, *PIR*² II (1936) C753, p. 162, s.v. ...us Claudianus.

⁸ Ed. GROAG, *Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian (Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abteilung, 9)*, Leipzig-Wien 1939, col. 103-104.

⁹ D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*, Princeton 1950, p. 1588.

¹⁰ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain*, Paris 1960-1961, p. 182.

¹¹ E. BIRLEY, *Septimius Severus and the Roman Army (Epigraphische Studien, 8)*, Düsseldorf 1969, p. 80 n° 12.

¹² *Remarques sur le changement du statut administratif de la province de Judée*, *IEJ* 19 (1969), p. 226-227.

¹³ *Zur Verwaltung der Provinz Macedonia unter Traian und Hadrian*, dans *Actes du 1er Congrès International d'Études Balkaniques et Sud-est Européennes II*, Sofia 1970, p. 159.

¹⁴ *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian (Vestigia, 13)*, München 1970, p. 228 n. 493.

présentation sommaire est surtout intéressante par la datation de la fonction de préfet de la flotte mésique — *praef(ectum) class(is) Moesicae* ... = ἑπαρχὸν τοῦ ἐν Μοισίας στόλου — avant 86, lorsque la Mésie fut divisée en Mésie Supérieure et Inférieure¹⁵. L'éditeur proprement dit de l'inscription, D. Knibbe, date la préfecture de la vexillation de prétoriens à l'époque de Domitien ou de Trajan. En vertu de cette fonction, Claudianus aurait aussi reçu les *dona militaria*. Knibbe attire l'attention sur la nouveauté de l'approvisionnement en blé et sur le fait que Claudianus aurait connu, dans la même période, C. Vibius Salutaris, qui occupait un poste similaire en Sicile; il assimile la *ripa Danuvii* à la *ripa Thraciae* (où aurait opéré la flotte mésique) et se demande si Arruntius Claudianus n'aurait même pas pu obtenir aussi le consulat¹⁶. Toutefois, ni Eichler ni Knibbe n'ont identifié le «nouveau» Arruntius Claudianus à celui connu de longue date, à partir de deux inscriptions de Xanthos (n° 1 et, surtout, n° 2). Cette identification semble avoir été faite simultanément par plusieurs savants. Ainsi, par exemple, Chr. Habicht saisit aussitôt le lien qui existe entre le personnage honoré dans la nouvelle inscription, Arruntius Claudianus, et celui déjà connu auparavant [...] ὁ Κλαυδιανός (inscription n° 2). Ce dernier aurait exercé ses milices équestres, la procuratèle de l'approvisionnement de l'Italie et la préfecture de la flotte à l'époque de la dynastie des Flaviens, pour être ensuite coopté au sénat par Domitien. Habicht reprend ensuite l'hypothèse plus ancienne de Ritterling suivant laquelle Arruntius Claudianus n'aurait pu diriger la légion IIa Traiana qu'entre le début du IIe siècle, quand elle fut créée, et 127, lorsqu'elle fut transférée en Égypte. Relevant ensuite que l'inscription n° 2 doit sûrement être lue [στρατηγὸς δῆ]μου Ῥωμαίων, après l'indiscutable *pra[etor]em p(opuli) R(omani)* de l'inscription n° 3, Habicht évoque le moment où le père de Claudianus aurait reçu la citoyenneté romaine de la part de M. Arruntius Aquila, procureur de la Pamphylie en l'an 50¹⁷.

Le lien entre le titulaire des inscriptions n°s 2 et 3 n'échappe pas non plus à W. Eck. Il date les *dona militaria* de Claudianus à l'époque de Trajan ou plutôt de Domitien et restreint la procuratèle de l'approvisionnement à Rome (et non pas à toute l'Italie, comme l'avait supposé Knibbe), mais en liaison avec l'artère danubienne où Claudianus fut,

¹⁵ Fr. EICHLER, *AAWW* 106 (1969), p. 134 = *AE* 1969/70, 595.

¹⁶ D. KNIBBE, *Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos II*, *JÖAI* 49 (1968-71), *Beibl.*, col. 6-15.

¹⁷ Chr. HABICHT, *Zwei römische Senatoren aus Kleinasien*, *ZPE* 13 (1974), p. 1-4.

plus tard, envoyé comme préfet de la flotte et d'un district. Tout en avouant qu'il nous est plus difficile de comprendre l'affirmation de Eck, suivant laquelle Arruntius Claudianus aurait été, à un certain moment, légat du proconsul du Pont et de la Bithynie — à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'une simple inadvertance — retenons que, de l'avis du même épigraphiste, Claudianus aurait fait la connaissance de Salutaris pendant sa légation en Asie¹⁸. Mentionnons, au passage, que toutes ces contributions — à commencer par celle de Knibbe — ont été signalées dans le *Bulletin Épigraphique*, rédigé par Jeanne et L. Robert¹⁹, et passons à la dernière prise de position à propos de la publication de Knibbe, à savoir celle de H.-G. Pflaum²⁰. Reconnaisant en la personne de C. Vibius Salutaris l'un des grands évergètes de l'Éphèse des premières années du II^e siècle, Pflaum estime que l'empereur ayant accordé à Claudianus les *dona militaria* aurait pu être Domitien, qui n'est pas nommé à cause de la *damnatio memoriae*. A ses yeux, la procuratèle de l'approvisionnement en blé ne pouvait s'exercer qu'à Rome, la restitution *It(aliae)* devait être remplacée par *it(em)* ou *it(erum)*, ce qui mènerait à la conclusion qu'il aurait également exercé sa fonction de préfet de la flotte et de la *ripa Danuvii*. Quant à cette dernière circonscription, Pflaum n'hésite pas à la situer, correctement, en Pannonie, mais il affirme que, dans ce cas, il ne s'agirait que «d'une bande assez étroite le long du fleuve en Mésie». Enfin, l'auteur identifie, lui aussi, comme nous l'avons dit, le titulaire de l'inscription n° 3 à celui de l'inscription n° 2, suivant l'intuition déjà citée de Ed. Groag. Ainsi, après avoir parcouru toutes les fonctions énumérées dans l'inscription n° 3, Claudianus aurait aussi commandé la légion IIa Traiana (jusqu'en 123), pour devenir ensuite gouverneur de la Macédoine.

Le premier aperçu intégral et cohérent de la carrière de Claudianus est fourni, en 1976, par H. Devijver²¹. Ainsi, les trois *militiae equestres*, tout comme la préfecture de la vexillation de prétoriens, dateraient du temps de Domitien, l'empereur qui lui aurait accordé les *dona militaria* à la suite de la guerre contre les Daces (86-89); la procuratèle de

¹⁸ W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974), col. 59, s.v. Arruntius n° 16A.

¹⁹ *REG* 87 (1974), p. 276 n° 486.

²⁰ *AE* 1972, 572.

²¹ *Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum* (Symbolae Facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis), Leuven 1976, Pars I, p. 122, A166. Voir aussi *Some Observations on Greek Terminology for the Militiae Equestres in the Literary, Epigraphical and Papyrological Sources*, in Id., *The Equestrian Officers of the Roman Imperial Army* (Mavors. Roman Army Researches, 6), Amsterdam 1989, p. 66.

l'approvisionnement en blé, ainsi que la préfecture de la flotte mésique et de la *ripa Danuvii* seraient à dater toujours avant 86, ce qui est plus difficile à soutenir. Il y a, ensuite, l'*adlectio* au sénat (non datée, mais sous-entendue, de toute manière, toujours sous Domitien), dès lors que, après avoir été, préteur et légat des proconsuls d'Achaïe, et deux fois de l'Asie, Claudianus assume le commandement de la légion IIa Traiana durant les guerres daciques de Trajan (101-106), pour devenir vers 120 proconsul de la Macédoine.

Une autre succession des fonctions de Claudianus nous est proposée par Emilia Dorutiu-Boila: les trois milices équestres se situeraient entre 76 et 86, année où, en qualité de préfet de la vexillation de prétoriens, il reçoit de Domitien les *dona militaria*; vers 90, il est chargé à Rome de l'approvisionnement en blé et, entre 95 et 100, il remplit la fonction de préfet de la flotte mésique et de la *ripa Danuvii*, localisée, d'après Knibbe, en Dobroudja; pas plus tard que 102, il est coopté au sénat comme édile, pour devenir ensuite préteur, légat de l'Achaïe entre 102 et 104 et deux fois de l'Asie, entre 104 et 109, où il rencontre aussi Salutaris; en 109/110 il est légat de la IIa Traiana et, jusqu'en 114, proconsul de la Macédoine²².

Nous avons été amené à écrire un article²³ par le fait qu'Emilia Dorutiu-Boila estimait que par sa datation de la fonction mésique de Claudianus, la date que nous avons suggérée pour l'annexion de la Dobroudja par les Romains pourrait être remise en question²⁴. Tout en nous proposant de revenir tantôt à la question de l'annexion de la Dobroudja, nous nous en tiendrons pour l'instant à la chronologie de la carrière de Claudianus et, bien sûr, à l'endroit où il a rempli la fonction de préfet de la flotte mésique et de la *ripa Danuvii*. Les spécialistes sont, comme nous l'avons dit, unanimes à considérer que les *dona militaria* (une *hasta*, plusieurs *vexilla* et deux *coronae*)²⁵ avaient été accordés à Claudianus par Domitien, qui n'est pas nommément désigné à cause de

²² Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *Der niedermösische Limes unter Domitian. Zu einer Inschrift aus Ephesos*, dans *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II. Vorträge des 10. Internationaler Limeskongresses in der Germania Inferior (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 38)*, Köln-Bonn 1977, p. 289-296; EAD., *M. Arruntius Claudianus praefectus classis et ripae Danuvii*, *StudClas* 17 (1977), p. 89-100.

²³ A. SUCEVEANU, *Din nou despre cariera lui Marcus Arruntius Claudianus*, *SCIIVA* 30 (1979), p. 47-61.

²⁴ A. SUCEVEANU, *In legatura cu data de anexare a Dobrogei de catre romani*, *Pontica* (Constanta) 4 (1971), p. 105-123.

²⁵ J. FITZ, *Auszeichnungen der Praefekten der alae miliariae*, *Klio* 52 (1970), p. 99-105; V.A. MAXFIELD, *The Military Decorations in the Roman Army*, London 1981, p. 158-173.

la *damnatio memoriae*. La difficulté réside, toutefois, dans le fait que c'était encore un empereur non nommé qui avait coopté au sénat Claudianus et cet empereur serait de nouveau Domitien. Théoriquement, cela aurait pu se produire au cours d'un règne de 15 ans. Il existe, néanmoins, des arguments qui nous ont amené à mettre en doute la première assertion — celle de la date de l'attribution des récompenses militaires — d'autant plus lorsqu'on affirme qu'elles auraient été reçues à l'issue des guerres de Domitien contre les Daces (86-89). En reprenant les événements dans l'ordre inverse, mentionnons que nous avons, dès 1979, noté, à l'instar de Fr. Eichler, que la fonction de préfet de la flotte mésique n'aurait pu être exercée qu'avant 86, année de la division de la Mésie en Mésie Supérieure et Inférieure. Et si le texte latin — *prae-f(ectus) class(is) Moesicae* — peut prêter à confusion, le texte grec ne laisse subsister aucun doute: ἑπαρχὸν τοῦ ἐν Μοισίαι στόλου et non pas ἐν Μοισίαι τῇ ἄνω ou τῇ κάτω, comme se serait exprimé correctement le rédacteur de l'inscription si les Mésies avaient été séparées. Cette fonction aurait donc pu être exercée pendant les premières années du règne de Domitien, comme le document n° 1 semble bien le prouver. Nous apprenons de ce texte que l'évergète Claudianus avait laissé un héritage à Claudia Ti[tiana?]²⁶. Si ce Claudianus était, comme on l'a supposé, le même personnage que notre Claudianus, il paraît que sa mention à la fin seulement par le titre de εὐεργέτης — comme, par exemple, dans l'inscription d'Éphèse — permettrait d'émettre l'hypothèse que dans l'inscription il est question de sa carrière. Cela étant, nous nous demandions en 1979, comme à présent, si la fonction mentionnée dans l'inscription n° 3 *proc(uratorem) Romae frumenti comparandi* = ἐπίτροπον ἐ[ν] Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σείτου ne pourrait trouver son pendant dans la mention fragmentaire de l'inscription n° 1 [... τῶν Σεβαστῶν σείτου à compléter, peut-être — si le rapprochement est correct — [ἐπίτροπος ἐπὶ τοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν σείτου. Tout en admettant que la restitution pourrait donner lieu à certaines objections d'ordre grammatical (l'inscription étant d'ailleurs fort abîmée, nous ignorons comment elle a pu être en réalité), nous noterons, toutefois, qu'elle paraît contenir un élément fort précieux de datation, à savoir la mention au pluriel des empereurs: Σεβαστοί = *Augusti*. Qui étaient ces empereurs? Vu qu'il ne pouvait s'agir de Marc Aurèle et de Lucius

²⁶ Pour ce personnage, voir S. JAMESON, *Two Lycian Families*, *AS* 16 (1966), p. 125-130.

Verus, il ne reste que Vespasien et Titus²⁷. Admettant donc qu'au moment de l'érection de l'inscription par Claudia Ti[tiana?], [Arruntius Cla]udianus a été au moins *procurator Augustorum frumenti (comparandi)* — fonction qu'il n'aurait pu remplir qu'entre 71 et 79 — remontons dans le temps pour voir quand il a pu exercer les milices équestres et la préfecture de la vexillation de prétoriens, à la suite de quoi il reçut les récompenses militaires de la part d'un empereur dont le nom n'est pas mentionné. Si l'on situe donc les trois fonctions en question dans un intervalle compris entre 78/79 en 86 au plus tard, il en résulterait que Claudianus a pu recevoir les récompenses militaires de Vespasien. Mais cet empereur aurait normalement dû être mentionné comme initiateur, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans l'inscription. Se pourrait-il que nous trouvions un indice dans les *Histoires* de Tacite? Y a-t-il eu, pendant la lutte qui opposait Vitellius à Vespasien, des vexillations exceptionnelles de prétoriens qui, par après, auraient déserté les rangs de Vitellius, pour passer dans le camp opposé²⁸? Claudianus se trouvait-il parmi eux? Certes, la réponse à ces questions ne peut être formulée en toute certitude, mais, dans l'affirmative, il faudrait supposer que les récompenses militaires lui furent accordées par Vitellius²⁹. Est-ce que cela aurait pu entraîner un retard dans la promotion de Claudianus? On sait que la carrière militaire équestre (*militiae equestres*), qui durait à peu près dix ans, commençait normalement vers l'âge de 30 ans, mais il y a aussi des cas où elle pouvait commencer à 19 ans³⁰. Ayant donc vu le jour vers 30-40, Claudianus aurait pu entrer dans l'armée sous Néron, vers les années 60, pour achever ses milices équestres et la préfecture de la vexillation des prétoriens au cours de l'année mouvementée 69. Et c'est peut-être à cette occasion, qu'il a pu être — à ses dépens — «récompensé» par Vitellius. En effet, malgré qu'il eût ensuite rejoint le camp de Vespasien, cet épisode avait pu produire une certaine discontinuité dans sa carrière militaire. Les

²⁷ Raisonnement similaire chez W. ECK, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 92 et p. 245 concernant Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis *legatus Augustorum pr. pr. Moesiae* (AE 1955, 123) dont la légation se place entre 74/75 et 78/79.

²⁸ Tacite, *Hist.* III 21 et 84 avec le commentaire de A. PASSERINI, *Le coorti pretorie*, Roma 1939, p. 69 et p. 193.

²⁹ H. DESSAU, *ILS* 1447: Vitellius accorde une *hasta* et une *corona* à S. Caesius Propertianus; cf. Tacite, *Hist.* I 58.

³⁰ E. BIRLEY, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, Kendal 1961², p. 133-153; H. DEVIJVER, *De leeftijd van de ridderofficieren tijdens het Vroeg-Romeinse Keizerrijk* (*Augustus 27 v.Chr. – Gallienus 268 n.Chr.*), dans Id., *Equestrian Officers* (n. 21), p. 73-140.

inscriptions de Xanthos qui en font mention, ne cessent de se multiplier et, pour certaines d'entre elles, on a même formulé l'hypothèse qu'elles dateraient de la période d'un «retour au pays»³¹. Nous le voyons ainsi revenir, peut-être dans la deuxième partie de l'intervalle 71-79, à la procuratèle de l'approvisionnement en blé à Rome et, ensuite, jusqu'en 86, à la direction simultanée de la préfecture de la flotte mésique et de la *ripa Danuvii*. Tout en nous proposant de revenir sur cette dernière fonction, relevons qu'après ce moment, il aurait pu être *adlectus* au sénat par Domitien, peut-être en récompense de mérites exceptionnels, acquis pendant ses fonctions antérieures.

La carrière sénatoriale d'Arruntius Claudianus présente, pour le problème qui nous intéresse ici, une importance secondaire. Il suffit de rappeler, dans ce contexte aussi, que le seul point sûr, à ce propos, est constitué par la légation de la légion IIa Traiana Fortis (... *πρεσβε[υ-της...λεγεων]ος δευτερας Τραιανης [ισχυρας...* de l'inscription n° 2, postérieure naturellement à l'inscription n° 3), laquelle, ainsi qu'il résulte de l'enquête de E. Ritterling, ne peut être située qu'entre 100/101 et 119-127. Bien plus, selon H. Devijver le retour d'Arruntius Claudianus à la carrière militaire semble avoir été imposé par des circonstances tout à fait exceptionnelles — les guerres de Trajan contre les Daces de Décébale, domaine dans lequel il a dû avoir une expérience particulière — ce qui nous a amené à situer cette fonction dans la période de ces guerres (101-106). Qu'est-ce qui s'est pu passer jusqu'alors? Devenu sénateur après 86, Arruntius Claudianus fut d'abord coopté parmi les édiles (*inter aedilicios* = *ἐν τοῖς ἀγορανομικοῖς*), devint ensuite préteur (*praefetorem p(opuli) R(omani)* = *στρατηγὸν δήμου Ῥωμαίων*, formulation identique à celle de l'inscription n° 2) et, bien sûr, après une période plus longue³², légat des proconsuls d'Achaïe et deux fois d'Asie (*leg(atum) [pr(o) pr(aetore) p]rovinciarum A[cha]jiae et Asiae bis* = *πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον ἐπαρχειῶν Ἀχαιας Ἀσίας δις*, formulation presque identique à celle de l'inscription n° 2). La datation de toutes ces fonctions doit être circonscrite entre 86 au plus tôt et 100/101, lorsque Arruntius Claudianus assume le commandement de la légion IIa Traiana³³. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que l'inscription n° 3 ait été érigée en son honneur par C. Vibius Salutaris, dont la carrière équestre a dû s'achever sous Domitien et qui serait devenu l'un des

³¹ Jeanne et L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique*, REG 95 (1982), p. 395 n° 379.

³² W. ECK, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 38-47, mais surtout p. 40-41.

³³ H. DEVIJVER, *PME* (n. 21), A166.

grands potentats d'Éphèse, vers la fin du I^{er} et le début du II^e siècle³⁴. Enfin, le dernier poste occupé par Arruntius Claudianus, celui de gouverneur (de rang prétorien) de la Macédoine (ἀνθύπατος Μακεδ[ονίας]), devait être, comme nous le disions en 1979, situé le plus près possible de la fin des guerres daciques, étant donné qu'à ce moment-là, Arruntius Claudianus devait avoir 60-70 ans³⁵.

Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, l'endroit où Arruntius Claudianus avait exercé la fonction de *praef(ectum)...ripae Danuvi(i)* (ἐπαρχον.....τῆς ὀχθης) méritait en 1979 d'être examiné de plus près, comme ce problème le mérite, de toute évidence, encore aujourd'hui. Comme on l'a vu dans le bref aperçu donné plus haut, les avis sont partagés à ce sujet. Selon une première hypothèse, il s'agirait d'un simple «Bezirk» (W. Eck), selon une autre d'«une bande assez étroite le long du fleuve en Mésie» (H.-G. Pflaum), tandis qu'une troisième va jusqu'à identifier la *ripa Danuvii* avec la *ripa Thraciae* (D. Knibbe et Emilia Dorutiu-Boila). A notre connaissance, la *ripa Danuvii* est attestée dans trois documents épigraphiques. Le premier provient d'Antioche³⁶ et nous présente la carrière d'un inconnu, d'abord préfet de cohorte, probablement en Mésie, ensuite tribun de la légion IVa Scythica, du temps où celle-ci cantonnait en Mésie, puis préfet d'aile et, enfin, *praef(ectus) rip(ae) Danuvi*. Situons ces données dans leur contexte chronologique et géographique. Pendant la période julio-claudienne à laquelle se rapporte ce document, la légion IVa Scythica (transférée en 56/57 en Syrie) a dû avoir son siège dans la partie ouest de la future province de Mésie³⁷. A la même époque la province de Mésie ne représentait à l'origine qu'un petit noyau³⁸ dans la vallée de la Morava et du Timoc³⁹, tandis qu'à l'est de celle-ci se situait la *praefectura civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae*, probablement dans la zone Ratiaria–Oescus⁴⁰.

³⁴ R. HANSLIK, *RE* VIIIA 2 (1958), col. 1982 n° 51, s.v. Vibius.

³⁵ Voir plus haut la n. 30.

³⁶ W.M. RAMSAY, *JRS* 14 (1924), p. 188 n° 8 (= *AE* 1926, 80); E. BIRLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 81 n° 11; H. DEVIJVER, *Equestrian Officers from the East*, dans *Id.*, *Equestrian Officers* (n. 21), p. 175 n° 20; *Id.*, *PME* (n. 21), Pars IV Supplementum I, Leuven 1987, p. 1800 n° 64.

³⁷ E. RITTERLING, *RE* XII (1925), col. 1559, s.v. legio.

³⁸ Cassius Dio LV 29.3 nous informe que A. Caecina Severus (6 ap. J.-C.) n'était que le gouverneur d'une partie de la future Mésie (ἀρχὸν τῆς πλησιόχωρου Μυσίας).

³⁹ E. RITTERLING, *RE* XII (1925), col. 1559, s.v. legio; R. SYME, *Danubian Papers*, Bucuresti 1971, p. 60.

⁴⁰ *CIL* V 1838 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 1349. Suivant Ptolémée, Ratiaria était le centre des Moesiens (III 9.3) tandis que Oescus celui des Triballes (III 10.5).

La *ripa Danuvii* doit, dès lors, être cherchée dans le voisinage plutôt à l'ouest du petit noyau provincial mésique. Et voici un deuxième document qui apporte une preuve irréfutable de ce que nous avançons⁴¹. Il nous apprend, en effet, que L. Volcacijs Primus fut d'abord préfet de la cohorte I Noricorum (qui n'arrive en Pannonie qu'en 69)⁴², ensuite (ou en même temps?) *praef(ectus) ripae Danuvi(i) et civitatium duar(um) Boior(um) et Azalior(um)*, puis tribun de la légion Va Macedonica (quand elle tenait garnison en Mésie) et, enfin, préfet de l'aile I Pannoniorum en Afrique. La question de savoir si Volcacijs Primus était ou n'était pas en même temps préfet de cohorte et de la *ripa Danuvii* est, sans doute, intéressante en soi, dans la mesure où l'on pourrait éventuellement établir une hiérarchie dans le cadre, comme on le verra, des nombreuses *praefecturae riparum*⁴³. Mais, quoiqu'il en soit, notons que cette fois-ci il n'existe plus de raison de ne pas accepter la localisation de la *ripa Danuvii* en Pannonie, à côté des Boi et des Azali⁴⁴. Et même devant cette évidence, renforcée encore par le fait que le moyen Danube est généralement appelé *Danuvius* à la différence du bas Danube qui porte le nom d'Istros⁴⁵, certains auteurs localisent la *ripa Danuvii* à l'est, y compris en Dobroudja⁴⁶. La nouvelle découverte épigraphique d'Éphèse témoignant qu'Arruntius Claudianus était, cette fois-ci, simultanément *praef(ectum) class(is) Moesicae et ripae Danuvi(i)* = ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἐν Μοισίαι στόλου καὶ τῆς ὁχθῆς a accru cette confusion au point d'en arriver à identifier la *ripa Danuvii* avec la *ripa Thraciae*. Convaincu que de telles méprises ne pouvaient se glisser dans les documents officiels de l'époque, mais seulement dans les interprétation de certains de nos contemporains, essayons de voir, à partir de l'idée — d'ailleurs la seule valable — que la *ripa Danuvii* se trouvait sur le moyen Danube, comment les deux fonctions ont pu être combinées. Étant donné que, comme on le verra, la Dobroudja venait d'être

⁴¹ CIL IX 5363, 5364 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 2737; H. DEVIJVER, *PME* (n. 21), Pars II, Leuven 1977, p. 881, V124; Pars IV Suppl. I, p. 1779, V124.

⁴² K. WACHTEL, *Kritisches und ergänzendes zu neuen Inschriften aus Mainz*, *Historia* 15 (1966), p. 246-247.

⁴³ D.B. SADDINGTON, *Military Praefecti with Administrative Function*, dans *Actes du IX^e Congrès International d'Épigraphie grecque et latine*, Sofia 1987, I, p. 268-273.

⁴⁴ A. MÓCSY, *RE Suppl.* IX (1962), col. 607-608, s.v. Pannonia.

⁴⁵ Strabo VII 3.13 (C304, 305); Pomponius Mela II 1.7; Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* IV 12 (24).79; Ptolemaeus III 8.1.

⁴⁶ A part D. KNIBBE, *loc. cit.* (n. 16) et Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *loc. cit.* (n. 22), les seules hésitations en ce sens se trouvent chez W. REIDINGER, *RE* VIII A 2 (1958), col. 1776-1778, s.v. Vestalis, ou chez R. SYME, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 81, p. 83.

annexée assez récemment et que, pour cette période (avant 86), il n'est pas prouvé que la base de la flotte mésique fut déplacée vers l'est, il est fort possible qu'Arruntius Claudianus a exercé la fonction de préfet de cette flotte dans les centres navals de la future Mésie Supérieure (Margum, Viminacium, Egeta ou Ratiaria), ainsi que dans ceux de la région dite Sirmia (entre la Sava et la Drava), tels que Malata, Burgenae et Taurunum⁴⁷. Un contrôle exercé à partir de là sur une zone située quelque part sur le moyen Danube nous semble donc fort plausible. Or les recherches exemplaires effectuées par des collègues hongrois nous offrent des éléments pour fixer peut-être plus exactement, sur le terrain, l'endroit où se trouvait cette *ripa Danuvii*. Sans avoir le loisir de parcourir, dans le détail, les étapes de l'annexion de la Pannonie, nous rappellerons, toutefois, qu'après une phase initiale (Auguste), pendant laquelle les légions sont cantonnées à l'intérieur, dans le triangle Siscia – Emona – Poetovio, elles avancent lentement vers le Danube (en tout cas, moins vite que le laisserait entendre l'émphatique déclaration d'Auguste: *protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii*, à moins d'admettre, toutefois, une différence entre le *limes* et les *fines*), de sorte que l'on peut considérer, vers le milieu du I^{er} siècle, les segments de *limes* de Carnuntum jusqu'à Aquincum et, ensuite, au sud, de Teutoburgium vers l'est⁴⁸ comme étant définitivement constitués. Par contre, la portion de fleuve comprise entre Aquincum et Teutoburgium ne sera pas occupée jusqu'à l'époque de Domitien, même par des troupes auxiliaires, ainsi qu'il a été démontré successivement par L. Barkóczi, E. Tóth et G. Vékony, D. Gabler⁴⁹.

Telle paraît être la zone que nous serions tenté d'appeler la *ripa Danuvii* et sur laquelle auront exercé, à tour de rôle, leur autorité, en qualité de *praefecti ripae Danuvii*, l'inconnu de l'inscription d'Antioche, L. Volcacius Primus et M. Arruntius Claudianus, certes parmi bien d'autres. Avec l'installation des troupes auxiliaires dans cette zone

⁴⁷ G. FORNI, dans E. DE RUGGIERO, *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* IV (1962), p. 178, p. 197; A. MÓCSY, *RE Suppl.* IX (1962), col. 624-628, s.v. Pannonia.

⁴⁸ *Mon. Ancy.* (= *Res gestae divi Augusti*) 5.46-48. Pour la différence, au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C., entre *limes* et *fines*, voir H. SCHÖNBERGER, *Der römische Limes in Deutschland. Begriff und Funktionen*, dans *Grenzbildende Faktoren in der Geschichte*, Hannover 1969, p. 13-21.

⁴⁹ L. BARKÓCZY, *Intercissa II*, *Archaeologia Hungarica* 36 (1957), p. 497; E. TÓTH – G. VÉKONY, *Beiträge zu Pannoniens Geschichte im Zeitalter des Vespasianus*, *AArchHung* 22 (1970), p. 133-161; D. GABLER, *Die Eroberung Pannoniens im Spiegel der Sigillaten*, *AArchHung* 23 (1971), p. 83-91; E. TÓTH, *Pannonia provincia kialakulásához*, *Archeologiai Ertésítő* 103 (1976), p. 197-202.

aussi, la présence des *praefecti* en question a dû devenir inutile. A l'instar des *praefecti (ripae Thraciae?)*, dont nous nous occuperons tout à l'heure, *ripae Rheni*⁵⁰ et *ripae fluminis Euphrati*⁵¹, ceux de la *ripa Danuvii* cessent également — sans exception dans la période des Flaviens — d'exister, soit, comme on l'a dit, à cause d'une modification du concept de *limes fluvial*⁵², soit plutôt, croyons-nous, par suite de remplacement de ces commandants préprovinciaux⁵³ par des commandants stables de *castra stativa*. En tout état de cause, nous estimons qu'une enquête approfondie sur ces *praefecti riparum* — semblable à celle, exemplaire, sur les *praefecti orarum maritimarum*⁵⁴ — contribuerait sérieusement à élucider les étapes antérieures au processus que les sources antiques appellent, pour les différentes zones encore incomplètement soumises, *redactio in formam provinciae*.

D'autres études sur la carrière de M. Arruntius Claudianus ont fait suite à notre exposé de 1979. C'est ainsi que, toujours en 1979, B.W. Jones situe à l'époque de Domitien⁵⁵ l'*adlectio* de Claudianus au sénat. Anna Aichinger place l'octroi des récompenses militaires et la cooptation de Claudianus au sénat sous le règne de Domitien, tandis que le poste de gouverneur de la Macédoine daterait de la deuxième partie du règne de Trajan, en tout cas d'avant 117⁵⁶. La même année (1979), H. Halfmann situe l'octroi des récompenses militaires en 86, la préfecture de la flotte et de la *ripa Danuvii* en 92/93 (d'après Emilia Doruti-Boila), la cooptation au sénat sous Domitien et le commandement de la légion *Ila Traiana* après 101⁵⁷. C'est toujours sous le règne de Domi-

⁵⁰ Tacite, *Hist.* IV 55. Voir aussi G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Hilfstruppen in der römischen Provinz Germania Inferior (Epigraphische Studien, 6)*, Düsseldorf 1968, p. 37-38 et p. 188 n° 69.

⁵¹ CIL XII 1357 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 2709.

⁵² A. VON DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres (Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, 14)*, Köln-Graz 1967², p. 136.

⁵³ Strabo IV 6.4 (ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς (βαρβάρους) πέμπεται τις ὑπαρχος τῶν ἱππικῶν ἀνδρῶν. καθάπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλους τῶν τελέως βαρβάρων), texte qui ne semble pas avoir été bien compris par A.H. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Procurator Augusti, PBSR* 15 (1939), p. 11-26; voir, en revanche, W. ENSSLIN, *RE* XXII (1954), col. 1258-1374, s.v. praefectus.

⁵⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *The Career of M. Porcius Narbonensis (CIL II 4239)*. *New Evidence for the Reorganization of the Militiae Equestres by the Emperor Claudius*, dans *Id., Equestrian Officers* (n. 21), p. 29-55.

⁵⁵ B.W. JONES, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order. A Prosopographical Study of Domitian's Relationship with the Senate, A.D. 81-96*, Philadelphia 1979, p. 28 n. 39, p. 98 n° 30.

⁵⁶ A. AICHINGER, *Fasti Macedoniae. Die Reichsbeamten der römischen Macedonia der Prinzipatsepoche*, *Arheoloski Vestnik* 30 (1979), p. 622 n° 18.

⁵⁷ H. HALFMANN, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh.n.Chr. (Hypomnemata, 58)*, Göttingen 1979, p. 125 n° 28.

tien que cette cooptation eut lieu d'après A. Chastagnol (1980)⁵⁸, tandis qu'en 1981 C.C. Petolescu soulignait — à juste titre — que la fonction de préfet de la flotte et de la *ripa Danuvii* n'aurait pu être remplie avant 86, si l'on admet que c'est à peine la même année qu'Arruntius Claudianus avait reçu les récompenses militaires⁵⁹. Sans partager les conclusions de la contribution suivante, celle de A. Balland, nous croyons qu'elle présente un intérêt particulier⁶⁰. Ainsi, cet auteur reprend la discussion — quasiment ignorée assez longtemps — de l'inscription n° 1 (celle qui mentionne Claudia Titiana, l'héritière de l'évergète Claudianus), sans toutefois s'arrêter à ses éléments de datation. Situait l'octroi des récompenses militaires à l'époque de Domitien, A. Balland estime qu'Arruntius Claudianus fut coopté au sénat par Trajan, ce qui, comme on l'a vu, est plus difficile à accepter. Enfin, une importance particulière présente, pour la question qui nous occupe, le fait que A. Balland se demande pour la première fois — après nous — si Arruntius Claudianus n'avait pu recevoir les récompenses militaires en 69, hypothèse qu'il rejette par la suite. La contribution de A. Balland a suscité, de la part de Jeanne et L. Robert, des commentaires intéressants dont nous avons fait mention ci-dessus⁶¹. J.J. Wilkes⁶² date, lui aussi, la préfecture de la flotte et de la *ripa Danuvii* avant 86, tandis que W. Eck⁶³ et B.E. Thomasson⁶⁴ rapprochent — à juste titre, selon nous — le gouvernement de la Macédoine par Arruntius Claudianus des guerres daciques auxquelles il avait participé en qualité de légat de la légion *Ila Traiana*. Les dernières contributions qui nous soient connues sont de la main de H. Devijver⁶⁵. Confirmant les conclusions auxquelles il était parvenu en 1976, cet auteur a le mérite de nous offrir — à la lumière des documents à présent accessibles — la séquence la plus

⁵⁸ *Les homines novi entrés au sénat sous le règne de Domitien*, dans *Festschrift F. Vittinghoff*, Köln-Wien 1980, p. 276-277.

⁵⁹ C.C. PETOLESCU, *Recenzii* (autour du livre de H. DEVIJVER, *PME*), SCIVA 32 (1981), p. 472.

⁶⁰ A. BALLAND, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, VII. *Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Letoon*, Paris 1981, p. 143-146.

⁶¹ Jeanne et L. ROBERT, *loc. cit.* (n. 31).

⁶² *Romans, Dacians and Sarmatians in the First and Early Second Centuries*, dans *Rome and the Northern Provinces. Papers presented to Sheppard Frere*, Gloucester 1983, p. 267 n. 56.

⁶³ *Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139*, *Chiron* 13 (1983), p. 199 n. 560.

⁶⁴ *Laterculi praesidium* I, Göteborg 1984, p. 182 n° 18.

⁶⁵ *Equestrian Officers from the East* (voir n. 36), p. 324 n° 2; *Id.*, *PME*, Pars IV Suppl. I, p. 1445, A166.

plausible des fonctions remplies par Arruntius Claudianus. Du point de vue qui nous préoccupe, il suffit de mentionner que la contradiction plus ancienne entre la date de l'octroi des récompenses militaires et celle des fonctions de préfet de la flotte et de la *ripa Danuvii* est tranchée par le fait que tous ces épisodes sont situés à l'époque de Domitien. Beaucoup plus intéressants nous semble, par contre, l'option décisive de H. Devijver en faveur de la Pannonie comme lieu d'exercice de la fonction de *praefectus ripae Danuvii* tant par M. Arruntius Claudianus que par L. Volcacius Primus⁶⁶.

Localisable en Pannonie et datable, de toute façon, sous le règne de Domitien (plus probablement, croyons-nous, avant 86), la fonction de *praefectus ripae Danuvii* ne peut offrir — objectivement parlant — aucune solution pour la date de l'annexion de la Dobroudja par les Romains.

* * *

Cette question, qui ne saurait être qu'effleurée ci-après, devra donc être élucidée en ayant recours à d'autres éléments. Ayant constaté l'insuffisance des arguments plaçant pour l'annexion de la Dobroudja en 46, nous croyions qu'il était beaucoup plus plausible de la situer sous le règne de Vespasien, sans éliminer — aujourd'hui — une prolongation de ses étapes jusqu'à celui de Domitien⁶⁷. Cela n'exclut certes pas une profonde réorganisation militaire et, surtout, administrative de cette partie de la province, à l'époque de Trajan, le fondateur de la Dobroudja romaine, telle qu'elle sera ensuite connue pendant plus d'un siècle et demi. En proposant «notre» date, nous avons tenu compte des éléments suivants:

(1) Un contrôle romain dans la zone a dû s'exercer dès le temps de la campagne de M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (72/71 av. J.-C., notamment sur les villes pontiques occidentales) et, à plus forte raison, depuis celle de M. Licinius Crasus (29/28 av. J.-C.); c'est, en effet, à partir de l'action de ce dernier que la Dobroudja, ayant dépendu jusqu'alors de Marc Antoine, passa du côté du nouveau maître du monde romain, Octavien Auguste⁶⁸. Le moment que nous essayons de fixer le plus

⁶⁶ H. DEVIJVER, *PME*, Pars IV Suppl. I, p. 1779, V124 et p. 1915 (Index. V: Geographica).

⁶⁷ Al. SUCEVEANU, *loc. cit.* (n. 23, 24).

⁶⁸ Pour tous ces événements, voir Al. SUCEVEANU, *Sugli inizi della dominazione romana in Dobrugia. Punti di vista e controversie*, *QC* 2 (1980), p. 469-499.

exactement possible n'est donc pas celui des différentes étapes de l'avance de la domination romaine avant l'annexion (ni d'ailleurs de celles qui l'ont suivie), mais le moment de ce qui est appelé par les sources juridiques *redactio in formam provinciae*.

(2) L'année fatidique 46 — évoquée plus haut — est mentionnée comme année de l'annexion de la Thrace par Eusebius-Hieronymus⁶⁹ et confirmée par Georgius Syncellus⁷⁰; ce dernier nous apprend qu'un roi du nom de Rhoemetalces fut assassiné par sa femme en 50 et que son royaume fut transformé en province. Enfin, deux textes de Tacite semblent à leur tour confirmer que l'annexion de la Thrace s'est produite soit avant 52, soit avant 69⁷¹. Il n'est certes pas indiqué d'entrer ici dans les détails du problème difficile de la succession des dynastes odryses, mais si les choses se sont passées comme le pensent la plupart des auteurs, le royaume odryse réunifié échut en 37/38 à Rhoemetalces III qui fut à son tour assassiné en 46 (? ou 50), lorsque la zone située au sud des monts Haemus — autrement dit la Thrace — fut transformée en province. Nous manquons cependant de renseignements sur le sort de la zone située au nord des Haemus, c'est-à-dire de la future province de Mésie Inférieure. En réalité toutefois la réunification de 37/38 n'est pas si clairement prouvée⁷², ce qui laisse ouverte la possibilité pour Rhoemetalces II d'avoir régné, du moins pendant un certain temps, à côté de Rhoemetalces III⁷³. Lequel des deux fut assassiné en 46: voilà donc un problème insoluble. Certes, la solution proposée par une majorité d'auteurs et évoquée plus haut est, en principe, plus acceptable, mais — ne l'oublions pas — elle n'est que le résultat d'un «consensus» commode, mais peut-être illusoire.

(3) Un autre argument invoqué en faveur de l'an 46 comme date de l'annexion de la Dobroudja, est le fait que la première lettre de l'horothésie histrienne, en vertu de laquelle certaines immunités douanières furent accordées aux Histriens, date de l'époque de Tullius

⁶⁹ *Chron.*, p. 180 (ed. HELM), 12-13: *Thracia huc usque regnata in provinciam redigitur.*

⁷⁰ P. 630 (ed. BONN): Θράκη ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου ἐπαρχία ἐξηραμάτισε, βασιλεύουσα πρὶν; p. 631 (ed. Bonn): Κλαύδιος...Κέλτους καὶ Βρεττάνους...ὀπηγάγετο, ὁμοίως καὶ Θράκας, ἀναιρεθέντος αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμετάλκου ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γεματῆς (50 ap. J.-C.).

⁷¹ Tacite, *Ann.* XII 63; *Hist.* I 11.3.

⁷² Cassius Dio LIX 12.2 affirme clairement que l'empereur Caligula ...τῷ τε Ῥομετάλκῃ τὰ τοῦ Κότυος...ἐχαρίσατο.

⁷³ C'est l'opinion de R. NEUBAUER, *Hermes* 10 (1876), p. 145-152, citée par H. DESSAU, *PIR* III (1898) R51, 52, p. 131, s.v. Rhoemetalces II et III. Ajouter dans le même sens A.H.M. JONES, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* II, Oxford 1971², p. 9-10.

Geminus (47-50). La conclusion apparemment la plus logique serait de dire que la douane romaine (*publicum portorium ripae Thraciae*) n'aurait pu s'étendre qu'après 46 dans un territoire déjà annexé⁷⁴. Pour notre part, nous ne saurions fournir d'explication au fait que les lettres annexées à la décision de M. Laberius Maximus commencent précisément par celle de Tullius Geminus, mais il est hors de doute qu'un contrôle douanier romain était, dès avant cette année, exercé dans la contrée située entre le Danube et la Mer Noire. La preuve en est fournie par l'horothésie même⁷⁵, par Appien⁷⁶ et, enfin, par Cassius Dion⁷⁷ si, du moins, les témoignages des deux derniers auteurs ne sont pas des extrapolations vers le passé d'une situation propre à leur époque.

Mais l'argument le plus convaincant nous semble être offert par la riche documentation épigraphique histrienne qui fait état d'une série d'immunités douanières accordées à la ville par un gouverneur romain, à l'époque d'un dynaste (βασιλεύς) qui portait le nom de 'Po[ιμη-τάλκης]⁷⁸. Si l'on se refuse à situer ce document avant 46 — pour ne pas être obligé à postuler l'extension de la douane romaine (...τὸ τέλος τῷ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ὄχθης) à la Dobroudja avant cette année — on se heurte à une nouvelle aporie, c'est-à-dire l'existence d'un dynaste odryse qui aurait survécu à l'an 46, ce qui nous ramènerait aux complications évoquées à propos du point précédent. Optant donc pour la solution alternative, qui est d'ailleurs corroborée par des textes, nous croyons pouvoir conclure qu'un contrôle douanier a pu être non seulement possible, mais aussi nécessaire, dans une zone où l'on peut, dès le temps d'Ovide, parler, en toute certitude, d'un contrôle militaire.

(4) Enfin, le dernier argument contre le choix de l'an 46 pour l'annexion de la Dobroudja est précisément constitué par la constata-

⁷⁴ Voir, par exemple, S.J. DE LAET, *Portorium. Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire*, Brugge 1949, p. 235.

⁷⁵ D.M. PIPPIDI, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris I* (= ISM I), Bucuresti 1983, n° 67, 68 : sans exception, les gouverneurs de la Mésie entre 47 et 68 font allusion soit à l'habitude (κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν συνήθειαν) de pêcher sans payer les taxes, soit aux inviolables frontières des ancêtres (ἀναμφισβήτητα ὅρια, τὰ τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν ὅρια) soit directement au droits de douane (τὴν...πρόσοδον ὑμετέραν εἶναι, ἥ δικαίῃ ταῦτα τὰ τέλη οἱ πρόγονοι ὑμῶν καὶ πατέρες...ἀδιαλείπτως ἔσχον) que les Histriens possédaient avant 47 ; toutes ces précisions n'auraient de sens qu'en relation avec la douane romaine.

⁷⁶ *Illyr.* 6.15 : ...τὸ τέλος τῶνδε τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀπὸ ἀνίσχοντος Ἰστρου μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης, ὅφ' ἐν ἐκμισθοῦσι καὶ Ἰλλυρικὸν τέλος προσαγορεύουσιν.

⁷⁷ XII, fr. 50 (= Zonaras VIII 19.8) : Τὸ δ' Ἰλλυρικὸν ὄνομα...ἔστιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τούτων τῶν ὁρῶν (Haemus et Rhodope) καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων τοῦ τε Αἵνου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου μέχρι τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου.

⁷⁸ D.M. PIPPIDI, ISM I 66.

tion que rien n'a changé en ce qui concerne le contrôle militaire de la zone entre l'époque d'Ovide et les dernières années de la dynastie julio-claudienne. Il s'agit de la mention de quatre *praefecti* — Vestalis⁷⁹ (12), ?Pomponius Flaccus⁸⁰ (15), Asiaticus et Arruntius Flamma⁸¹ (50-57) — plus probablement de la *ripa Thraciae* que de l'*ora maritima*, comme on l'avait supposé au début⁸². Cette hypothèse semble être confirmée par Ovide qui dit que sous Pomponius Flaccus *ripa...Histri...tuta fuit*⁸³, formulation qui ressemble de façon frappante à celle de l'éloge de Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, où il est dit que celui-ci a amené des rois barbares pour les faire s'incliner devant les drapeaux romains *in ripam, quam tuebatur*⁸⁴. Il y a eu donc une *ripa* (*Histri* ou, plutôt, *Thraciae*, en jugeant d'après le nom de la circonscription douanière du bas Danube) sur laquelle le gouverneur de la Mésie n'exerçait, entre 12-15 et 50-57, qu'une action de *tutela*, contrairement à la province proprement dite qu'il dirigeait de droit (*praefuit*). A l'appui de cette interprétation on pourrait, croyons-nous, invoquer un texte de Cicéron, dans lequel il est affirmé, pour la période de Brutus (44-42 av. J.-C.): *tenet igitur respublica Macedoniam, tenet Illyricum, tuetur Graeciam*, cela dans la mesure où l'on ne peut parler de la transformation définitive de la Grèce en province qu'en 27 av. J.-C.⁸⁵. Quelle a pu être l'étendue de cette *ripa* et pour combien de temps a-t-elle pu être nécessaire en tant qu'entité préprovinciale, on ne saurait le déduire qu'à partir d'une analyse de l'avance des troupes romaines stables vers la contrée comprise entre le Danube et la Mer Noire.

(5) Une telle analyse fournit en effet l'argument essentiel pour situer l'annexion de la Dobroudja à l'époque des Flaviens. Nous ne pouvons pas développer ici un sujet intéressant non seulement pour le cas qui nous occupe, mais aussi en tant que fait exemplaire dans la mesure où la chose est valable pour bien des provinces qui n'auront pas eu dès le

⁷⁹ Ovide, *Pont.* I 8.11-20, IV 7.1-30.

⁸⁰ Ovide, *Pont.* IV 9.75-80.

⁸¹ D.M. PIPPIDI, *ISM* I 67, 68.

⁸² Pour la seconde variante voir A. VON PREMERSTEIN, *Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien*, *JÖAI* I (1898), col. 170-171, 175, 194-195; pour la première A. SUCEVEANU, *La défense du littoral de la Dobroudja à l'époque romaine (I^{er}-III^e siècles de n.è.)*, *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (Bucuresti) 13 (1974), p. 220-222.

⁸³ Ovide, *Pont.* IV 9.75-76.

⁸⁴ *CIL* XIV 3608 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 986, l. 16-18.

⁸⁵ Cicero, *Philipp.* 10.14 avec le commentaire de E.J. OWENS, *Increasing Roman Domination of Greece in the Years 48-27 B.C.*, *Latomus* 35 (1976), p. 722; voir aussi Ed. GROAG, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 1-10.

début l'étendue que nous leur connaissons aux II^e–III^e siècles, comme, par exemple, c'est le cas déjà évoqué de la Pannonie. Il suffit de dire que la province de Mésie fut créée pendant les premières années de l'ère chrétienne⁸⁶. Nous avons vu plus haut que le noyau initial de la province ne doit pas être cherché, dès le début, sur le Danube mais plus à l'intérieur, dans la vallée de la Morava et du Timoc⁸⁷. Dès l'an 46, les légions mésiennes — la IVa Scythica et la Va Macedonica — parviennent au Danube, englobant, probablement, dans le cadre provincial, la *praefectura civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae*, qui doit, comme on l'a vu, être fixée dans la zone Ratiaria–Oescus⁸⁸. L'an 46 apporte, en effet, aussi un changement des dispositifs militaires romains, changement qui ne se matérialise toutefois que par l'installation de la légion VIIa Augusta à Novae⁸⁹, la frontière de la province étant à présent établie sur la Iantra, au lieu de l'une des rivières situées entre Oescus et Novae (Isker, Vit ou Osem). Nous n'avons aucune preuve de l'occupation militaire de la zone située à l'est de Iantra avant la dynastie des Flaviens, ce qui nous amène à supposer qu'il s'agissait de la zone comprise dans la *praefectura ripae Thraciae* (à cette étendue a dû correspondre à peu près celle de la circonscription douanière de la *ripa Thraciae*, si l'on tient compte du fait que la localité la plus occidentale de cette circonscription se trouvait, au début du II^e siècle, à Dimum-Belene)⁹⁰. Après l'accession au trône de Vespasien, par suite de l'action de Rubrius Gallus⁹¹ et, ensuite, sous Titus et Domitien, on voit apparaître les premières troupes auxiliaires stables à l'est de Iantra, notamment à Appiaria⁹², Sexaginta Prista⁹³, Durostorum⁹⁴, Abrit-

⁸⁶ R. SYME, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 40-72 (1-4 ap. J.-C.).

⁸⁷ Plus haut, n. 40.

⁸⁸ *CIL* III 1968 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 2281 (en 33/34 et en 43 les légions IVa Scythica et Va Macedonica sont mentionnées sur le Danube).

⁸⁹ E. RITTERLING, *RE* XII (1925), col. 1647-1651, s.v. legio.

⁹⁰ D.M. PIPPIDI, *ISM* I 67, 68: *ius exigendi portorii a finibus canabiarum Dimensionum usque ad mare*.

⁹¹ Flavius Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* VII 4.3, 92-94: Οὐδεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πόρθησιν τῆς Μυσίας πυθόμενος Ῥούβριον Γάλλον ἐκπέμπει δίκην ἐπιθήσοντα τοῖς Σαρμάταις... τοῦτο δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἐπιθεῖς ὁ στρατηγὸς (Rubrius Gallus) καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας προυνόησε· πλείοσι γὰρ καὶ μείζοσι φυλακαῖς τὸν τόπον διέλαβεν, ὥς εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν διάβασιν τελέως ἀδύνατον.

⁹² V. BESEVLIEV, *Epigrafski prinosi*, Sofia 1972, p. 71 n° 122: deux (?) cohortes en 76.

⁹³ V. VELKOV, *Eine neue Inschrift über Laberius Maximus und ihre Bedeutung für die ältere Geschichte der Provinz Moesia Inferior*, *Epigraphica* 27 (1965), p. 90-109: citoyens romains *consistentes* en 101-102, près d'une station de la *classis Flavia Moesica*.

⁹⁴ *CIL* III 6152, 7484: cohors II Flavia Brittonum vers la fin du I^{er} siècle.

tus⁹⁵, Altinum ou Sacidava⁹⁶, Carsium⁹⁷, Arrubium⁹⁸, Troesmis⁹⁹, Noviodunum¹⁰⁰, Aegyssus¹⁰¹, et très probablement Salsovia¹⁰². L'apparition de toutes ces troupes, entre 70 et 90, atteste donc l'inclusion définitive dans le système provincial romain — au moins du point de vue militaire — de la contrée située entre le Danube et la Mer Noire, ce qui a dû rendre inutile l'existence des *praefecti ripae Thraciae*, comme celle de leurs homologues de Pannonie (*praefecti ripae Danuvii*), d'ailleurs vers la même période. Il est évident que la présence d'un *praefectus* en Dobroudja, après cette date — comme on a cru un certain temps que ce fut le cas d'Arruntius Claudianus — aurait infirmé tout le raisonnement ci-dessus, mais nous avons vu que ce n'est pas le cas.

(6) Dans la série de mesures entreprises du temps des Flaviens, il faut aussi inclure la réorganisation¹⁰³ de la flotte du bas Danube — appelée alors *classis Flavia Moesica* — même si, comme on l'a déjà vu, on ne saurait placer la base de celle-ci en Dobroudja qu'à un moment situé après 86, peut-être à la suite de la division de la Mésie en Mésie Supérieure et Inférieure. Et puisque cette date est indiscutable, notons encore qu'il est difficile d'accepter que les Romains aient attendu quarante ans (de 46 à 86) pour se rendre compte des difficultés présentées par la défense et l'administration d'une province qui s'étendait depuis Singidunum jusqu'aux bouches de Danube.

(7) Un autre point à relever est la certitude de la conclusion, par Vespasien, de nouveaux accords avec les Daces d'outre-Danube¹⁰⁴, sans doute pour rétablir les accords plus anciens conclus par Aelianus et violés par les Daces en 70¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁵ AE 1925, 80: cohors II Lucensium à partir de Vespasien; cf. W. WAGNER, *Die Dislokation der römischen Auxiliärformationen in den Provinzen Noricum, Pannonien, Moesien und Dakien von Augustus bis Gallienus*, Berlin 1938, p. 161-162.

⁹⁶ CIL XVI 44: cohors II Gallorum en 99.

⁹⁷ Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris V (= ISM V)*, Bucuresti 1980, n° 103: une cohorte avant le début du II^e siècle; cf. C. PATSCH, *RE* III (1899), col. 1616.

⁹⁸ Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *ISM V* 251: ala I Vespasiana Dardanorum à partir de Vespasien.

⁹⁹ Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *ISM V* 214: ala I Pannoniorum à partir de Vespasien.

¹⁰⁰ Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *ISM V* 273, 281, 283: classis Flavia Moesicae à partir, au plus tard, de Domitien.

¹⁰¹ Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *ISM V* 286: inscription en l'honneur de Titus.

¹⁰² Emilia DORUTIU-BOILA, *ISM V* 291: une cohorte Gallorum en 97.

¹⁰³ A. ARICESCU, *Armata in Dobrogea romana*, Bucuresti 1977, p. 70-74.

¹⁰⁴ Iordanes, *Getica* XIII 76 avec le commentaire de R. SYME, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 149.

¹⁰⁵ CIL XIV 3608 = H. DESSAU, *ILS* 986; Tacite, *Hist.* III 46.2.

(8) Lorsqu'une inscription datant du règne de Vespasien mentionnait *auctis populi Romani finibus*¹⁰⁶, on a cru¹⁰⁷ que cette formulation pourrait s'expliquer par un fameux passage de Suétone (repris ensuite par Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Eusebius-Hieronymus et Orosius)¹⁰⁸, suivant lequel Vespasien *Thraciam, Ciliciam et Commagenen, ditionis regiae usque ad id tempus, in provinciarum formam redigit*¹⁰⁹. Nous aurions ainsi la preuve que pendant les premières années du règne de Vespasien (l'année 74 dans la chronologie d'Eusebius-Hieronymus) la Thrace, cette fois-ci = *ripa Thraciae* (et non pas la Thrace proprement dite qui, selon les renseignements fournis par le même auteur, avait été transformée en province en 46), fut annexée à l'Empire romain, information qui — à la lumière de ce qui précède — ne devrait guère nous surprendre. Il est vrai que ces choses n'étaient pas encore connues il y a cent ans, lorsque J. Marquardt — à partir de la prémisse que, par erreur, Eusebius-Hieronymus avait deux fois mentionné l'annexion de la Thrace (une fois en 46 et une fois en 74) — concluait qu'il ne pouvait s'agir que de la *tracheia Cilicia* (la Cilicia montagneuse = *aspera*), à la différence de celle de la plaine (*campestris* ou, en grec, πεδιάς) à laquelle elle n'était que reliée¹¹⁰. La question est assez compliquée et mériterait, à elle seule, un développement plus ample. Nous nous limiterons à la résumer, tout en précisant d'emblée que ni les arguments philologiques, ni les données historiques ne justifient la conjecture imaginée par Marquardt. Pour ce qui est des arguments philologiques, notons tout d'abord que parmi la longue série de manuscrits des textes susmentionnés, deux seulement de Suétone et un de la chronique d'Eusebius-Hieronymus contiennent la variante *Trachia* ou *Tracia*, alors que, dans leur grande majorité, ils présentent la forme normale *Thracia*. Bien plus, Aurelius Victor parle de la Cilicie et (ac) de la Thrace, comme le fait d'ailleurs aussi la traduction grecque d'Eutropius (*codex Gothanus*), qui précise: «les Thraces et à côté de ceux-ci (τε ἐπὶ τοῦτοις) les Ciliciens». Et puis, nous ne voyons pas pourquoi Suétone et les autres auteurs susmentionnés n'auraient pas employé, comme il eût été nor-

¹⁰⁶ CIL VI 1232.

¹⁰⁷ Th. MOMMSEN, *Le droit public romain* (trad. franç.) VI 2, Paris 1889, p. 373.

¹⁰⁸ Aurelius Victor, *Epit.* 9.13; Eutropius VII 19.4; Eusebius-Hieronymus, *Chron.*, p. 188 (ed. HELM.), 5-8; Orosius VII 9.10.

¹⁰⁹ Suétone, *Vesp.* 8.4.

¹¹⁰ J. MARQUARDT, *Organisation de l'Empire romain* (trad. franç.) II, Paris 1892, p. 198-199, en s'appuyant sur les suggestions plus anciennes de Scaliger, Borghesi ou Bentley; cf. D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 1439.

mal, l'épithète latin *aspera* (et non pas le grec *τραχεία*), s'ils avaient voulu désigner la Cilicie montagneuse.

Quant aux arguments historiques, précisons tout d'abord qu'il n'existe pratiquement aucun argument pour soutenir que l'autre Cilicie (*campestris* ou *πεδιάς*) a pu avoir une organisation propre jusqu'en 72-74, puisqu'elle dépendait, en fait, de la province de Syrie¹¹¹. En réalité, la Cilicie faisait avant 72, avec la Commagène, partie du royaume d'Antiochos IV. En 72, ce royaume est supprimé et remplacé par les provinces de Cilicie d'une part (par la réunion partielle des deux zones) et de la Commagène d'autre part¹¹². A quel point l'annexion de la seule Cilicie montagneuse est invraisemblable. C'est ce qui est prouvé par le fait que cette zone continuait d'être gouvernée par le gendre d'Antiochos IV, Alexandre, dont le royaume doit être placé quelque part à l'intérieur des terres et non pas sur la côte¹¹³.

Relevons, pour conclure, que l'événement de l'annexion de la Dobroudja (= *ripa Thraciae*) pourrait être reflété par les textes cités plus haut (en faisant, toutefois, observer qu'une *ditio regia* nous ramènerait aux complications énoncées à propos du point 2). Le scénario que nous proposons a, bien sûr, un caractère hypothétique, étant, à tout moment, susceptible d'être revu à la lumière de nouveaux textes. Jusqu'à la découverte de tels documents, l'hypothèse que nous venons d'avancer présente l'avantage essentiel, à nos yeux, d'un plus grand respect des textes actuellement disponibles.

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¹¹¹ D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 563; M. PANI, *Roma e i re d'Oriente da Augusto a Tiberio*, Bari 1972, p. 194.

¹¹² D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 576 et 1439; W. ECK, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 4.

¹¹³ Flavius Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVII 5.4, 140; cf. D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 143 et A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 73), p. 208.

SWIMMING THE DANUBE UNDER HADRIAN'S EYES

A Feat of the Emperors' Batavi Horse Guard

The most famous inscription about the Batavi in the Roman army is a poem, perhaps written by the emperor Hadrian himself. It praises a soldier called 'Soranus', who in summer 118 swam with his horse across the Danube¹.

Ille ego Pannoniis quondam notissimus oris
inter mille viros fortis primusque Batavos,
Adriano potui qui iudice vasta profundum
aequora Danuvii cunctis transnare sub armis.
Emissumque arcu, dum pendet in aere telum
ac redit, ex alia fixi fregique sagitta.
Quem neque Romanus potuit nec barbarus umquam
non iaculo miles, non arcu vincere Parthus:
his situs, hoc memori saxo mea facta sacravi.
Viderit anne aliquis post me mea gesta sequatur:
exemplo mihi sum, primus qui talia gessi.

I am the man who, once well known to the river banks in Pannonia,
brave and foremost among one thousand Batavi,
was able with Hadrian as judge, to swim the wide waters
of the deep Danube in full battle kit.

From my bow I shot an arrow, and while it hung in the air
and was falling back, I hit and broke it with another arrow.
Whom no Roman or foreigner ever outdid,
no soldier with the spear, no Parthian with the bow,
here I lie, I have bequeathed my deeds to memory on this ever-
mindful stone.

Let anyone see if after me he can match my deeds.

I set my own standard, being the first to bring off such feats.

¹ CIL III 3676 (see p. 1042) = ILS 2558 = F. BÜCHELER, *Carmina Latina epigraphica* (2 vol., Leipzig 1895-1897) 427. See A.G. ROOS, *Soranus, een Bataaf in Romeinse krijgsdienst, Mededelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde*, N.R. 16 (1953), p. 319-326. The translation borrows from R.W. DAVIES, *Service in the Roman Army*, New York 1989, p. 111. *Sine exemplo secum certare* in military skills is also praised by Pliny in his *Panegyric* (13). For Hadrian's visit to Pannonia in AD 118 see H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986, p. 190. The time of Hadrian's stay in Pannonia can be given with greater precision: it must have been April or later, else the water would be too cold to swim. By July 9, Hadrian had arrived in Rome (H. HALFMANN, *ibid.*).

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Who were those one thousand Batavi? Scholars suggested *cohors III milliaria Batavorum*, stationed in Pannonia², others thought of *ala I milliaria Batavorum*³. The inscription, however, mentions neither cohort nor ala, merely Batavi. Dio Cassius describes the same, obviously famous event, and from him we learn that the soldiers who swam the river were horsemen. He, too, calls them neither a cohort nor an ala but merely «the cavalry regiment of the so-called Batavi» (τὸ ἱππικὸν τῶν καλουμένων Βατάων)⁴. He adds that when the barbarians saw all this, they stood in terror of the Romans, turned to their own affairs, and even asked Hadrian to settle their quarrels. A milliary cohort had no more than two hundred and forty third-rate horsemen — hardly enough to frighten the Transdanubians into submission, hence *cohors III Batavorum* cannot be meant here⁵.

Nor is *ala I milliaria Batavorum* a likely candidate, for while we have many military diplomas, stone inscriptions, and tile stamps from Pannonia, none ever mentions that unit. Moreover, the ala is not known to have had bowmen in its ranks, or to have gone to the Parthian war. To be sure, the ala cannot be excluded altogether, for if it stayed only for a short while in Pannonia it may not have left any monuments. Yet it is not likely to be meant here, for the exercise seems to have been surprising to the enemy⁶.

Another unit has a far better claim: the emperors' horse guard of the *equites singulares Augusti*. Newly found inscriptions from Anazarbos in

² A.G. ROOS, *art. cit.*, p. 322; A. AIGN, *Castra Batava und die Cohors nona Batavorum, Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Volkskunde* 17 (1975), p. 102-157, esp. p. 132; H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 195; R.W. DAVIES, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³ M. BANG, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst bis zum Regierungsantritt Constantins*, Berlin 1906, p. 38; K. STROBEL, *Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Batavikohorten in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, *ZPE* 70 (1987), p. 271-292; ID., *Die Jahre 117 bis 119 n.Chr. Eine Krisenphase der römischen Herrschaft an der mittleren und unteren Donau*, in *Studien zur Alten Geschichte. Festschrift S. Lauffer*, ed. H. Kalcyk, vol. III, Rome 1986, p. 905-967, esp. p. 943, with literature.

⁴ Dio LXIX 9. The Roman foot also learned to swim, see G. HORSMANN, *Untersuchungen zur militärischen Ausbildung im republikanischen und kaiserzeitlichen Rom*, Boppard 1991, p. 127-132. However, it was above all the horse that could cross mighty rivers or sea-inlets, for the men, though weighed down by their weapons, could hold on to their horses, see e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV 29; *Hist.* IV 12; *Agr.* 18; likewise *Bell. Alex.* 29f.

⁵ Hadrian himself pitied the horsemen of the cohorts: *equorum forma, armorum cultus pro stipendio modo* (*CIL* VIII 18042 = *ILS* 2487). For the horsemen of the cohorts as third-rate cavalry see R.W. DAVIES, *op. cit.*, p. 141-151.

⁶ The whereabouts of the ala are not known between AD 68 when it was in Lower Germany (Tacitus, *Hist.* IV 18, for which see n. 14 below) and 123 when it is found on Dacian diplomas (*IDR* III 4, no. 325; *CIL* XVI 90).

Cilicia show that they were popularly called *Batavi*, like the Julio-Claudian horse guards of the *Germani corporis custodes*⁷. As the imperial horse guard they went wherever Hadrian went. Some of them were bowmen and they accompanied Trajan to the Parthian war, where they shot it out with Parthian archers, and from there they returned with Hadrian to the Danube⁸.

The man sung in the poem, even though an *eques singularis Augusti*, need not have been an ethnic *Batavus*, for 'Batavi' was merely the title of the unit, and while the emperors' horsemen came from anywhere on the Rhine and Danube, the bowmen among them mainly came from Syria and Arabia⁹. Cassius Dio perhaps wanted to say as much when he described the guardsmen as the «so-called *Batavi*», or, in another context, «the horsemen whose name is *Batavi*, because they are the best horseback riders»¹⁰.

The poem — *spectatissimus in prato epigraphico flos* as Bücheler called it — may have been preserved in a literary collection, together with other 'poetic' treasures from Hadrian's pen¹¹, or it may have been copied from a stone inscription by a Carolingian scholar somewhere in Western Europe. In either case additional information, such as the name of the soldier, was available, as shown by such information supplied with a similar poem for a horseman of the guard. The manuscripts offer as a note *versus eiusdem (Hadriani) de quodam milite Sorano*. This could refer to the town of Sora in Latium where Hadrian settled veterans and where more *equites singulares Augusti* retired¹². On

⁷ M. SAYAR, *Equites singulares Augusti in neuen Inschriften aus Anazarbos*, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 17 (1991), p. 19-38; M.P. SPEIDEL, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter*, Bonn 1992, nos. 688-688d.

⁸ The horse guard fought with Trajan before Hatra (Dio LXVIII 31).

⁹ *AE* 1962, 289 = M.P. SPEIDEL, *Denkmäler*, no. 684. For the ethnic origin of the horse guard see *ibid.*, 'Einleitung'.

¹⁰ Dio LV 24.7: Ξένοι τε ἰππῆς ἐπίλεκτοι οἷς τὸ τῶν Βατάων ἀπὸ τῆς Βατάονας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα, ὅτι δὴ κράτιστοι ἵππεύειν εἰσὶ, κεῖται, wrongly interpreted, it seems, by G. NEUMANN, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* II (1976), p. 91, who infers from this passage that the *Batavi* had their name from being the best (riders) — as if Dio or his readers had a grasp of Germanic etymology.

¹¹ SHA, *Had.* 16; 25.10 (*tales autem nec multo meliores fecit et Graecos*). Hadrian likewise wrote a poem for the gravestone of his horse (*Minor Latin Poets*, p. 446). I believe Hadrian also wrote the Greek poem *Anth. Pal.* VII 363, a further epitaph for a veteran of his horse guard.

¹² Similar poem: M.P. SPEIDEL, *Denkmäler*, no. 596. Hadrian settling veterans at Sora: *CIL* X, p. 560. Horse guards retired there: *CIL* X 5687 = *AE* 1968, 112 = M.P. SPEIDEL, *Denkmäler*, no. 740.

the other hand, Soranus may have been the soldier's name, although, as with the names of other Batavian horseguards, its origin is not Batavian¹³.

Though swimming rivers with their weapons and their horses was a special skill of the Germanic tribesmen¹⁴, all the other troopers of the horse guard, Pannonians, Thracians, and even Syrian bowmen, had to learn it as well, for the emperors needed a horse guard able to swim rivers. Such skill brought Caesar victory on the Nile, Caligula ridicule on the Rhine, and Hadrian, as we saw, peace on the Danube. Nor would Maxentius and his horse guard have drowned crossing the Tiber had they not been shot by Constantine's bowmen¹⁵.

Archers were the weapon to stop cavalry from crossing rivers, witness Germanicus' archers, frightening off Arminius the Cheruscan and his guard from crossing the Ems. If those who crossed had bowmen in their ranks, they could shoot back as soon as they came out of the deep, fast-flowing part of the river and could mount their horses again. It is for this reason that the bowmen, among them 'Soranus', went first. In such crossings formations had to be kept, hence Hadrian's manoeuvre was by no means a free-for-all to see who might be first¹⁶.

¹³ For Soranus as a name see e.g. *CIL* V 2159 (Altinum) *L. Galli Sorani, militis leg(ionis) IIII Flavies Felicis* — the manuscripts offer also the reading *Serranus*. *ILS* 2558 stated unhesitatingly «militi nomen fuisse Sorano non credo». A. MÓCSY, *Nomenclator*, Budapest 1983, p. 271 lists the name once each in Italy, Noricum, and Pannonia (our poem?). I KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, p. 181-183 has some references for Italy, while the computer index of *CIL* VI for the city of Rome lists 7 women and 5 men. Soranus is not a Batavian or Germanic name, for it is not listed in H. REICHERT, *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen*, Wien 1987, nor in A. HOLDER, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* I-III, Leipzig 1896-1913.

¹⁴ M. BANG, *op. cit.*, p. 39; M.W.S. HASSALL, *Batavus and the Roman Conquest of Britain, Britannia* 1 (1970), p. 131-136; Tacitus, *Hist.* IV 12: *Erat et domi delectus eques praecipuo nandi studio <quo> arma equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumperet* (perhaps the very horse guard of the *Germani corporis custodes* sent home by Galba, and possibly even the same as the ala *Batavorum* of Tacitus, *Hist.* IV 18). For the *Germani corporis custodes* see H. BELLEN, *Die germanische Leibwache der römischen Kaiser des julisch-claudischen Hauses*, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 97ff.; M.P. SPEIDEL, *Germani corporis custodes*, *Germania* 62 (1984), p. 31-45, esp. p. 43; see also Herodian VIII 4.3 and Ammianus (n. 19 below).

¹⁵ *Bell. Alex.* 29f.: *Equites Germani flumen tranarunt...re praeclarissime gesta*. Caligula: Suetonius, *Cal.* 45. Maxentius: M.P. SPEIDEL, *Maxentius and his Equites Singulares in the Battle at the Milvian Bridge*, *CAnt* 5 (1986), p. 253-262. Even the Parthian Great King broke through rivers with his horse guard (Tacitus, *Ann.* XV 15).

¹⁶ Arminius: Tacitus, *Ann.* II 9. For the technique of crossing with horses under fire see J. PIEKALKIEWICZ, *The Cavalry of World War II*, New York 1980, p. 31. Keeping formations: Tacitus, *Hist.* IV 2 *integris turmis*.

Dio celebrates the swimming of the Danube by the Batavi as the height of battle readiness, so awe-inspiring that the nations north of the river gave up all thought of war with Rome. Guards could be the decisive force in ancient wars, and their state of readiness was calculated to cow potential enemies. The Batavi of the poem, the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome, were thus an elite strategic strike force, and its horsemen, blending German boldness and skill with Roman discipline, were the cutting edge of the imperial army¹⁷.

Another case of the Roman strategy to overawe enemies by a high state of war-readiness also involved the horse guard. Caligula's amphibious manoeuvre across the bay of Pozzuoli, on a pontoon bridge some five kilometers long, was meant to daunt the tribes of Germany and Britain against whom he planned a campaign. It culminated in a cavalry charge across the bridge, led by the emperor at the head of his horse guard. The role of the horse guard in Hadrian's manoeuvre on the Danube, and Dio's report of its effects, are therefore well-paralleled and trustworthy¹⁸.

Germans in the Roman Army swimming a wide river under arms and thereby frightening the foes into making peace even became a literary *topos* not to be scorned, witness Ammianus' account of Julian's Parthian war in AD 364. On their way back after the emperor's death, the Romans had to cross the Tigris at high water to regain Mesopotamia. To prove it could be done, 500 *mixti cum arctois armatis Galli* (or *Germani* for short), who had been trained from early boyhood on to cross large rivers, swam over and killed the Persians on the West bank. This so disheartened the Persian emperor that he sent envoys and made peace. Since the historical writing of the second and third century is largely lost, we cannot tell whether Ammianus here reflects more a

¹⁷ Guards decisive: Velleius Paterculus II 109. The guard not a strategic strike force: J.B. CAMPBELL, *The Emperor and the Roman Army 31 BC–AD 235*, Oxford 1984, p. 114; however, for decisive interventions by the praetorians see e.g. Tacitus, *Ann.* II 20; Dio LXXV 6; by the guard: Zosimus I 52.4. For the horse guard in war generally: M.P. SPEIDEL, *The Roman Emperors' Horse Guard*, London 1992 (forthcoming). German and Roman: Seneca, *De ira* I 1.3f.: *Germanis quid est animosius, quid ad incursum acrius, quid armorum cupidius... Da illis corporibus, illis animis delicias luxum opes ignorantibus, da disciplinam: ut nihil amplius dicam, necesse erit nobis mores Romanos repetere.*

¹⁸ Caligula: Suetonius, *Cal.* 19.3; Dio LIX 17.4. Strategy: Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* III 475f; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome* 14.10.

literary stock-in-trade or a historical fact¹⁹. Either would bear out the greatness of the horse guard's feat on the Danube.

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¹⁹ Ammianus XXV 6.13-15, 7.3 and 8.1; see D. HOFFMANN, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, Düsseldorf 1969, p. 150. Ammianus, like the maestro of Trajan's column (scene 31), contrasts a skillful river crossing with the panic and drownings of a disorderly one (XXV 8.1-2). For a third-century instance, see Herodian VIII 4.3.

UN FREGIO D'ARMI 'ELLENISTICO' AD ALBA FUCENS*

Nella prima relazione sugli scavi di Alba Fucens, apparsa nel 1951, venne fra l'altro segnalato dal compianto Fernand De Visscher il ritrovamento di una tomba con 7 o 8 inumazioni, in contrada Peschiarinuccio, presso la 'Casa Gatti', sulle pendici occidentali della collina di Albe¹. Nelle vicinanze fu scoperta una pietra con decorazione a rilievo: due schinieri e uno scudo ornato di una cicogna con le ali aperte (fig. 1a-b). Nel catalogo delle sculture di Alba Fucens, pubblicato nel 1982, la pietra in questione è stata ripresa tra i «varia» nel capitolo sugli elementi di decorazione architettonica². Qui la pietra, la cui decorazione evocherebbe le insegne delle due legioni *Italicae* create nel 165 e 170 d.C. da Marco Aurelio, viene messa dall'autore in rapporto con la vicina tomba, designata come «sepoltura di soldati».

I dati di scavo disponibili sono purtroppo estremamente vaghi ed è impossibile venire a sapere la relazione precisa tra la pietra con decorazione a rilievo e la sepoltura riportata alla luce contemporaneamente negli stessi paraggi. Ci sembra, però, più che attendibile che la pietra fosse ritrovata già in una situazione di riutilizzo. Del resto, da un esame della pietra stessa, conservata in un magazzino del Castello di Celano, risulta chiaramente che il blocco è sempre stato visto in una posizione erronea (che risale già agli schizzi fatti al momento della scoperta) e che si tratta dell'estremità destra di un blocco d'architrave proveniente dalla trabeazione di un portico. Inoltre questo elemento architettonico può essere ricollegato ad alcuni altri elementi simili conservati in territorio albense, editi e inediti, che verranno presentati qui di seguito, e di cui sia il materiale che le dimensioni (pressochè identiche ad eccezione della lunghezza) e le particolarità tecniche e

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¹ F. DE VISSCHER, *AC* 20 (1951), p. 79. Nell'edizione attuale della carta dell' I.G.M. (f° 145 II SE, Avezzano) sono indicate le 'Case Georgia' al posto del 'Casino Gatti' (v. p.e. ediz. 1877, f° 13 parte or., Tagliacozzo).

² F. DE RUYT, *Alba Fucens* III. *Sculptures d'Alba Fucens (pierre, marbre, bronze)*. *Catalogue raisonné*, Bruxelles-Roma 1982, p. 160 n° 191 e tav. LIV. Cf. S. DIEBNER, *Gnomon* 56 (1984), p. 573-575.

decorative permettono di accertarne la provenienza dallo stesso contesto architettonico.

Il materiale di tutti i blocchi è una pietra brecciosa, usata in molte costruzioni di Alba Fucens, anche per elementi modanati³. È presente sul dorsale della collina di Albe, fra S. Pietro e Antrosano (dove esistevano delle cave), e anche intorno alla 'Casa Gatti'⁴.

La parte anteriore di tutti i blocchi è completamente ricoperta da una decorazione in rilievo che sporge circa 4-5 cm, ad eccezione di una fascia inferiore rientrante di 8-10 cm di altezza (v. figg. 1-6). Sul lato superiore (piano d'attesa) sono visibili incavi per grappe presso il margine delle faccie di giunzione (v. figg. 4c e 6). In mezzo al lato inferiore (soffitto o cielo dell'architrave) è incavata una striscia convessa (largh. m 0,03) che si arresta a 20 cm circa dalle faccie di giunzione (v. figg. 4d e 6). La parte posteriore presenta un' articolazione che si avvicina alla trabeazione dell'ordine ionico o corinzio: architrave composto di due fascie aggettanti (alt. m 0,13 e 0,11), modanatura sporgente (*kyma*) (alt. cm 10) e fregio liscio (v. figg. 6 e 7).

Per quanto riguarda i dati particolari dei singoli blocchi, sarà bene passarli in rassegna uno per uno, a cominciare da quello rinvenuto nel 1950 da F. De Visscher. Oltre alle coordinate, alle dimensioni e ai dati tecnici e materiali esamineremo soprattutto gli elementi della decorazione sulla faccia vista.

n. 1 (fig. 1a-b)⁵

- Blocco conservato in un magazzino del Castello di Celano, tra il materiale proveniente dagli scavi di Alba Fucens. Rinvenuto nel 1950 a 1,5 km circa da Albe, nella contrada Peschiarinuccio, zona di confine tra i territori di Albe, Cappelle de' Marsi e Antrosano.
- Lungh. m 0,51-0,52; alt. m 0,56; spess. inf. 0,325.
- Estremità destra di un blocco d'architrave. I piani superiore e inferiore sono molto danneggiati, ma sono sempre visibili al margine superiore destro un incavo per grappa e sul piano inferiore un listello convesso che si arresta a 20 cm dalla faccia di giunzione verticale (lato destro).

Della decorazione della faccia vista rimangono un grande scudo ovale bordato di una sottile linea in rilievo e provvisto di umbone ovale

³ C. PROMIS, *Le antichità di Alba Fucense negli Equi misurate ed illustrate*, Roma 1836, p. 98-99 e tav. III.4.

⁴ *Carta geologica d'Italia*, f° 145, Avezzano (ediz. 1934).

⁵ F. DE VISSCHER, *loc. cit.* (not. 1); F. DE RUYT, *loc. cit.* (not. 2).

e spina verticale, e in basso a destra due schinieri e due punte probabilmente di giavelotti(?). Ad eccezione di uno schiniere posto verticalmente presso il margine destro, sotto al quale è visibile l'inizio di un altro oggetto difficilmente riconoscibile (scudo?), tutti gli oggetti sono inclinati verso destra. Scudi piatti di forma ovale (*thureoi* / *scuta*), con le estremità si o no troncate, umbone ovale e spina centrale, appaiono già nei fregi di Pergamo e di Milete⁶. Qui l'umbone ovale è affiancato da elementi in forma di ali in leggero rilievo tale da dare insieme con la spina verticale l'aspetto di un uccello allungato con le ali aperte, di cui però manca la testa, interpretato dal De Visscher e dal De Ruyt come una cicogna⁷. Gli schinieri, *knemides* o *ocreae*, che proteggevano stinco e ginocchio, non mancano quasi in nessun fregio d'armi a partire dall'età ellenistica⁸.

n. 2 (fig. 2a-b)⁹

- Blocco conservato nel giardino della villa del Prof. A. Tollis a Massa d'Albe. Prima del terremoto di 1915 si trovava riutilizzato in una casa della famiglia Tollis a Massa d'Albe.
- Lungh. m 1,08; alt. m 0,57; spess. sup. m 0,32 e inf. 0,31.
- Parte sinistra di un blocco d'architrave. Sul piano d'attesa incavo per grappa al margine della faccia di giunzione verticale a sinistra. Sulla faccia vista la decorazione a rilievo è alquanto abrasa presso il bordo sinistro.

Dopo un elemento (o più?) presso il bordo sinistro alquanto cancellato dall'abrasione della pietra si susseguono diverse armi e elementi d'armatura, per lo più inclinati verso sinistra. In basso a sinistra è collocato un elmo con visiera, paraguance, paranuca e pennacchio, avvicinabile al tipo di elmo di una *panoplia* marmorea di Rodi del I secolo a.C., tipo già chiamato «tracio» e recentemente definito

⁶ H. KNACKFUSS et al., *Das Rathaus von Milet (Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, 2)*, Berlin 1908, p. 81ss.; H. DROYSEN, *Die Balustradenreliefs*, in R. BOHN, *Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros (Altertümer von Pergamon, 2)*, Berlin 1885, p. 93-138 e tav. XLIII-L, spec. p. 107-108; v. anche R. FELLMANN, *Das Grab des Lucius Munatius Plancus bei Gaëta*, Basel 1957, p. 49ss. Sul tipo di scudo (*thureos* / *scutum*) v. P. COUISSIN, *Les armes romaines*, Paris 1926, p. 240ss., 316ss.; A.M. SNODGRASS, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, London 1982², p. 123.

⁷ *Locc. cit.* (not. 1-2).

⁸ Cf. H. DROYSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 107; R. FELLMANN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 45. Sugli schinieri v. G. KARO, s.v. *ocrea*, in *DS IV 1* (1907), p. 145-149; P. COUISSIN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 347ss.; A.M. SNODGRASS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), *passim*.

⁹ Frammento inedito.

«pseudo-attico»¹⁰. A destra dell'elmo spunta la lama di una spada corta e una punta di giavelotto. Lo spazio al di sopra di questi oggetti è occupato da un grande oggetto semi-circolare difficilmente identificabile. Il bordo inferiore alquanto irregolare dà l'impressione di una rappresentazione non finita. Forse era intenzione dello scultore rappresentare uno scudo (o pelta?). Al di sopra di questo spunta verso sinistra una lama di spada corta o pugnale, mentre a destra è parzialmente coperto da un elmo con cresta, visiera, paraguance e paranuca, e una schiniera. Anche quest'elmo può essere definito di tipo «pseudo-attico» (tipo precedentemente chiamato «tracio»), simile ad alcuni esemplari del III secolo a.C. ritrovati in Epiro, in Crimea e a Melo¹¹. Segue uno scudo ovale, rappresentato all'interno, di cui vediamo l'incavo circolare dell'umbone e due cinghie oblique di rafforzamento¹². Infine in alto a destra spunta una lama di pugnale o spada corta dietro a una delle estremità troncate di un altro scudo ovale solo parzialmente visibile¹³.

n. 3 (fig. 3a-b)¹⁴

- Tornato alla luce e conservato a Massa d'Albe come il n. 2.
- Lungh. m 1,20 circa; alt. m 0,56 circa; spess. inf. m 0,31.
- Parte destra di un blocco d'architrave, molto danneggiato nella parte superiore. Nella collocazione attuale è visibile soltanto la faccia vista con la decorazione a rilievo. Degli altri lati, però, possono essere intravisti particolari sufficienti per ipotizzare che si tratta di un frammento dello stesso fregio, probabilmente la parte destra dello stesso blocco del n. 2.

La decorazione consiste per lo più in grandi scudi ovali con estremità troncate (cf. sopra), alternativamente inclinati verso sinistra e verso destra. Il primo, parzialmente visibile in alto a sinistra (con incavo dell'umbone?), potrebbe essere l'altra parte dello scudo parzialmente visibile in alto a destra sul frammento precedente. Dei due scudi seguenti, collocati simmetricamente, è rappresentata la parte esteriore con spina verticale e umbone ovale. Di sotto in mezzo è posto un elmo munito di paraguance, paranuca e la tipica cresta con pennacchio che

¹⁰ A.M. SNODGRASS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 95; P. DINTSIS, *Hellenistische Helme*, Roma 1986, p. 113ss., 286 n. 239, e tav. 60.2.

¹¹ P. DINTSIS, *op. cit.* (not. 10), p. 275ss n. 213-217 e tav. 55; v. anche G. WAURICK, *Helme der hellenistischen Zeit und ihre Vorläufer*, in *Antike Helme (Röm.-Germ. Zentralmuseum, Monographien*, 14), Mainz 1988, p. 169ss.

¹² Cf. R. FELLMANN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), fig. 15 p. 40-41 e p. 50.

¹³ Forse parte dello scudo sul blocco seguente (n. 3) in alto a sinistra.

¹⁴ Frammento inedito.

compare in molte rappresentazioni vascolari (greche ed italiote) dell'elmo «pseudo-attico»¹⁵. Seguono uno scudo ovale, parzialmente coperto dal precedente e visto dalla parte interna con l'incavo circolare dell'umbone, e al di sotto uno schiniere inclinato verso destra e un oggetto probabilmente identificabile come fodero di spada o pugnale. Presso il bordo in alto a destra è probabilmente ancora visibile l'inizio di un altro scudo.

n. 4 (fig. 4a-d)¹⁶

- Blocco precedentemente conservato nel giardino del Palazzo Municipale di Avezzano ed ora esposto nella sala F del Museo Civico, al piano di sotto semi-interrato dello stesso palazzo. È posto contro un muro, rovesciato sul lato destro, cosicché rimangono ora invisibili la faccia posteriore e il lato destro (faccia di giunzione originaria). Manca ogni dato sulla provenienza, ma i danni subiti lasciano supporre un reimpiego. Forse è arrivato al Municipio di Avezzano, come molto altro materiale, dopo il terremoto del 1915.
- Lungh. m 0,89; alt. m 0,575; spess. sup. e inf. m 0,31–0,325.
- Il blocco conserva sul lato destro (ora non visibile) la faccia di giunzione originaria. A destra sul piano d'attesa, cioè presso il margine della faccia di giunzione, fu praticato un incavo per grappa. Sul soffitto il listello incavato si arresta a 20 cm dalla stessa faccia di giunzione. La modanatura sporgente sulla faccia posteriore (ora soltanto intravedibile) è stata in gran parte scalpellata. La decorazione a rilievo della faccia vista è molto danneggiata presso i bordi superiore e laterale destro (scalpellata al momento di reimpiego?).

La parte meglio conservata della decorazione è costituita da due scudi ovali inclinati simmetricamente verso il centro. Quanto alla forma ovale con estremità troncate, l'orlo sottile in rilievo e la presenza di una spina verticale sono simili ad altri scudi già descritti. Qui, però, l'umbone circolare è circondato da un anello, e ricorda gli scudi su alcuni blocchi di fregio di Scafa¹⁷. In alto a sinistra è ancora visibile la cresta con pennacchio e il paranuca di un elmo in gran parte scalpellato; a destra rimangono tracce di un altro elmo, questo pressoché completamente cancellato. Dalle tracce conservate si potrebbe dedurre

¹⁵ P. DINTSIS, *op. cit.* (not. 10), p. 113ss. e tav. 51ss.

¹⁶ Segnalazione in C. LETTA – S. D'AMATO, *Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi*, Milano 1975, p. 190-191; S. RUSSO, *Fregi d'armi in monumenti funerari romani dell'Abruzzo*, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 30-43, spec. p. 34; L.T. ORLANDI – E. VERI, *Museo lapidario di Avezzano*, Avezzano 1989, p. 68-69 n. 100.

¹⁷ S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 35ss e fig. 1 e 3.

che si tratti sempre di elmi di tipo «pseudo-attico»¹⁸. Sopra gli scudi, presso il bordo superiore, spunta l'estremità della lama di una spada corto o pugnale, e in alto a destra sono ancora individuabili un fodero di pugnale e accanto la punta di questo. In basso, fra i due scudi spunta l'estremità della lama di una spada o pugnale e accanto è rappresentato un oggetto allungato che termina in forma di una testa di animale stilizzata. Parte dell'asta (o del tubo) è ancora visibile al margine sinistro della lastra. Probabilmente si tratta di un *carnyx*, cioè strumento musicale ritorto terminante a testa di animale, che compare p.e. su uno dei blocchi sopra menzionati di Scafa, e anche nel fregio dell'*Athenaion* di Pergamo¹⁹. Per la forma il *carnyx* sul fregio in esame si avvicina molto a quelli sulle monete di Postumio Albino coniate probabilmente nel 48 a.C.²⁰

n. 5 (fig. 5a-b)²¹

- Blocco attualmente conservato nel cimitero di Corcumello, sul Colle S. Pietro; messo sul lato destro e utilizzato come base di una croce in ferro. Nel Medioevo il blocco sarebbe stato riutilizzato nella chiesa del convento benedettino di S. Pietro di Corcumello. La provenienza originaria è ignota.
- Lungh. m 1,03; alt. m 0,57; spess. sup. e inf. 0,32.
- La linea visibile senza interruzione su tutto il lato inferiore (soffitto) indica che si tratta della parte centrale di un blocco d'architrave, le cui estremità furono probabilmente tagliate per il reimpiego. Con il reimpiego va probabilmente anche messo in relazione l'incavo allungato sul lato superiore. La decorazione sulla faccia vista e le modanature sulla faccia posteriore sono relativamente ben conservate.

La superficie di questa lastra è essenzialmente occupata da due scudi circolari e un'armatura decorata con testa di gorgone, che si sovrappongono parzialmente. Scudi circolari (*aspides*, *clipei* o *parmae*) mancano raramente nei fregi d'armi²². L'infanteria sostituisce gli scudi circolari

¹⁸ Cf. P. DINTSIS, *op. cit.* (not. 10), tav. 54.5 n. 211.

¹⁹ E. SAGLIO, s.v. *carnyx*, in *DSI* 2 (1887), p. 925-926; S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 36 e fig. 1; H. DROYSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 113 e tav. XLVI 2.

²⁰ H.A. GRUEBER, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Republic*, I, London 1910, p. 507-508 tav. XLIX 17; M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, I, Cambridge 1974, p. 466 e tav. LIII 15 n. 450/1a.

²¹ G. GROSSI, *Capelle e i Piani Palentini nell' antichità*, in AA.VV., *Capelle dei Marsi*, 1990, p. 129, 132 e tav. XVII. Oltre al frammento esaminato, viene segnalato un altro frammento la cui decorazione è ora invisibile (p. 132 not. 123).

²² H. KNACKFUSS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 81ss. e tav. XV; H. DROYSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 107-108 e tav. XLV, XLVII, XLVIII; R. FELLMANN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 45-46.

mentre la cavalleria li conservò più a lungo durante tutto il periodo ellenistico²³. Nel periodo augusteo la *parma*, rappresentata su due lance incrociate, diventa il simbolo dell'ordine equestre²⁴. Nel fregio in esame, però, non dobbiamo ancora cercare questo significato simbolico. La corazza, tipicamente ellenistica, è dello stesso tipo p.e. di quella indossata da Alessandro nel celebre mosaico pompeiano²⁵: un corsetto liscio probabilmente di cuoio con sopra due spallacci metallici (*epômidēs*) che coprono gran parte del petto, fin quasi alla cintura; all'attacco delle braccia una fila di bande di cuoio terminanti in frange (*pteryges*); tra i due spallacci una testa di gorgone; sotto la cintura con fibbia circolare una doppia fila di *pteryges* terminanti in frange²⁶.

A sinistra in alto è probabilmente visibile parte di una spada e in basso è deposto uno schiniere. A destra dall'alto in basso si vedono la punta di un'arma (spada, pugnale, lancia?), una tromba lunga e diritta²⁷, e un elmo con la colotta decorata. La forma è alquanto diversa rispetto a quella degli altri elmi già incontrati e si avvicina più al tipo beozio²⁸. Sotto il paranuca di quest'elmo, nell'angolo inferiore del blocco, è ancora visibile parte di un oggetto assai problematico. Si tratta forse di un elemento navale come p.e. la prua di nave nel fregio d'armi sul parapetto dell'*Athenaion* di Pergamo²⁹ o in un fregio d'armi di Pietrabbondante³⁰. Quest'ultimo, probabilmente ancora databile nella prima metà del I secolo a.C.³¹, comprende del resto in gran parte gli stessi elementi della lastra qui presa in esame (due scudi circolari, corazza, elmo, schinieri) (fig. 8).

²³ Cf. P. COUISSIN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 142ss., 237ss., 314ss.; A.M. SNODGRASS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 122.

²⁴ Cf. H. DEVIJVER, *The Monument of the Equestrian Officer Cn. Petronius Asellio*, in questo stesso fascicolo, p. 245-254 (con bibl. ant.).

²⁵ J. CHARBONNEAUX - R. MARTIN - F. VILLARD, *Grèce hellénistique (330-50 av. J.-C.)* (Collection "L'Univers des Formes"), Paris 1970, p. 116 fig. 115.

²⁶ H. DROYSSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 105ss. e tav. XLIII, XLV, XLVIII; P. COUISSIN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 338-339; A.M. SNODGRASS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 90-92, 109; v. anche F. COARELLI, *I santuari del Lazio in età repubblicana*, Roma 1987, p. 147, 151.

²⁷ Cf. A. REINACH, s.v. *tuba*, in *DS V 2* (1919), p. 522-528; H. DROYSSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 113 e tav. XLV 1.

²⁸ P. DINTSIS, *op. cit.* (not. 10), p. 10-11: tipo del tardo ellenismo con visiera e paranuca separati, come p.e. su alcune gemme dell'ultimo terzo del II secolo a.C. (n. 41 tav. 7.8 e 8.1-3); v. anche G. WAURICK, *op. cit.* (not. 11), p. 159 ss.

²⁹ H. DROYSSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6), p. 95s., 116 e tav. XLIV 1.

³⁰ V. CIANFARANI - L. FRANCHI DELL'ORTO - A. LA REGINA, *Culture adriatiche antiche di Abruzzo e di Molise*, Roma 1978, p. 484 tav. 310.

³¹ Cf. S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 33.

Il fregio in esame, sia per la composizione che per la forma dei singoli elementi, può essere avvicinato più ai noti fregi d'armi ellenistici dell'Asia Minore che ad altri fregi dell'Italia centro-meridionale³². Le armi e gli elementi d'armatura non sono rigidamente affiancati come in un fregio a S. Domenico di Sora o ammuccinati come in un altro proveniente da Cuma³³. Né troviamo la sovradecorazione barocca di molti fregi d'armi dell'età imperiale, come p.e. non lontano da Alba Fucens a Trasacco³⁴. Elmi, scudi, schinieri ed altri elementi della panoplia, tutti di tipo ellenistico, sono disposti in un disordine equilibrato, con limitate sovrapposizioni, come nel fregio del *propylon* del *Bouleuterion* di Mileto, sul parapetto del *propylon* del santuario di Atena *Polias Nikephoros (Athenaion)* di Pergamo e — in area abruzzese — in qualche modo nel fregio (o fregi?) di Scafa³⁵. La chiara impronta ellenistica permette una datazione del fregio di Alba Fucens ancora entro l'ultimo secolo della Repubblica, piuttosto che nella prima età imperiale, com'è stato proposto per la lastra n. 5³⁶, e certamente non nel II o III secolo d.C., com'è stato proposto per la lastra n. 1³⁷.

Per le lastre nn. 1 e 5, le uniche già pubblicate (anche se non in maniera soddisfacente), si è parlato di una destinazione funeraria³⁸. Come già detto sopra, la forma stessa dei blocchi, dei quali tre faccie rimanevano visibili, insieme ad alcune caratteristiche di ordine tecnico indicano chiaramente che si tratta di elementi della trabeazione di un portico. Nessun blocco è conservato per intero e la lunghezza varia da m 0,51 a m 1,20, ma in base ai frammenti nn. 2 e 3 la lunghezza originaria di un blocco può essere fissata a m 2,25 circa, dimensione che dovrebbe corrispondere alla distanza interassiale delle colonne. Il diametro superiore di queste colonne doveva essere di circa m 0,325, come

³² Cf. M. RIZZELLO, *Monumenti funerari romani con fregi dorici della media valle del Liri*, Sora 1979, p. 56; R. FELLMANN, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 62 e tav. 7.1.

³³ C. LETTA - S. D'AMATO, *op. cit.* (not. 16), p. 187ss. e tav. XLII-XLIII; S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 38-40 fig. 4-8.

³⁴ Cf. H. DROYSSEN, *art. cit.* (not. 6); H. KNACKFUSS, *op. cit.* (not. 6).

³⁵ S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 35-36 e fig. 1; cf. anche un fregio da Sora: M. RIZZELLO, *Nuovi ritrovamenti...*, in *Museo Civico della Media Valle del Liri. Contributi* 1981, Sora 1981, p. 50 e fig. 1.

³⁶ G. GROSSI, *art. cit.* (not. 21), p. 137.

³⁷ F. DE RUYT, *op. cit.* (not. 2), p. 160: la decorazione dello scudo in cui viene individuata una cicogna, evocherebbe le insegne della IIa e della IIIa *legio Italica*, create da Marco Aurelio nel 165 e 170 d.C.

³⁸ Cf. not. 36-37.

si può dedurre dallo spessore inferiore dei blocchi d'architrave (tra m 0,31 e m 0,325).

Potremmo certo immaginare un monumento funerario in forma di edicola, con fregio d'armi, come p.e. il sepolcro di L. Publicius a Colonia³⁹. Però è altrettanto possibile, e anche più probabile nel I secolo a.C., che il fregio ornasse il portico di qualche monumento pubblico di Alba Fucens. L'altezza della striscia decorata, m 0,475, è ancora di poco inferiore a quella del fregio di Scafa, per il quale la Russo esclude la provenienza da un'edificio pubblico proprio in base alle dimensioni limitate⁴⁰. Però, a Mileto p.e. il fregio d'armi del *Bouleuterion* era alto meno di m 0,40 e si trovava a più di 8 metri dal suolo⁴¹.

Sono noti diversi complessi porticati ad Alba Fucens, sia archeologicamente che epigraficamente⁴². Tra questi potrebbe essere chiamato in causa il portico della cosiddetta 'terrazza nord' (fig. 9). La distanza interassiale delle colonne del lungo portico che delimitava la piazza verso NO era molto probabilmente uguale alla distanza interassiale delle semi-colonne sul lato NE che, in base a un rilievo del Mertens del 1959⁴³, può essere fissato a m 2,25, misura che corrisponde esattamente alla lunghezza di un blocco intero del fregio in esame. Le basi delle colonne e semi-colonne conservate consistono in un plinto quadrato di cm 59 di lato e un toro di cm 7,5 di altezza⁴⁴. Il blocco di base in pietra delle semi-colonne, probabilmente in muratura, terminava con il cavetto sopra il toro. Il blocco di base delle colonne comprendeva anche parte della colonna stessa, con scanellature piene (fig. 10). Alla base il diametro delle colonne (e delle semi-colonne) era di m 0,44. Non conosciamo, finora, capitelli di sicura appartenenza a questo portico ma la base con plinto, toro e cavetto potrebbe far pensare a colonne di

³⁹ Cf. G. PRECHT, *Das Grabmal des L. Publicius. Rekonstruktion und Aufbau*, Köln 1975, p. 64 e tav. 2-3, 17-18, 41.

⁴⁰ S. RUSSO, *RArch* 5 (1981), p. 31.

⁴¹ H. KNACKFUSS, *op. cit.* (not. 6), p. 80 e tav. x-xi.

⁴² J. MERTENS, *Alba Fucens*, Bruxelles 1981, p. 48 fig. 37. Per la documentazione epigrafica v. F. DE VISSCHER et al., in *Mon. Ant. Linc.* XLVI (1962), col. 386-388; K. MAES - F. VAN WONTERGHEM, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia* 24 (1985), p. 127 e 133 n. 15.

⁴³ Pianta conservata nel "Centro Belga di Ricerche Archeologiche in Italia Centrale e Meridionale".

⁴⁴ J. MERTENS, *Etude topographique d'Alba Fucens*, in *Alba Fucens I*, Bruxelles-Roma 1969, p. 105-106, 108 e tav. XLIIa (scavi 1959, tr. 137 e 139).

ordine tuscanico⁴⁵. Adottando le proporzioni date da Vitruvio per le colonne tuscaniche di templi il diametro superiore delle colonne in questione dovrebbe essere stato di m 0,33, cioè 1/4 del diametro alla base, misura che corrisponde allo spessore inferiore (cioè la larghezza del soffitto) dei blocchi d'architrave in esame. Sempre seguendo Vitruvio, l'altezza delle colonne del portico (compresi base e capitello, ciascuno con un'altezza della metà del diametro della colonna alla base) dovrebbe essere stato di m 3,52⁴⁶. Tutto questo rimane, però, sempre ipotetico, perché la forma delle basi potrebbe eventualmente essere interpretate in un altro modo⁴⁷, e anche se si avesse l'ordine tuscanico (non mancano capitelli tuscanici sul situ di Alba Fucens), va tenuto presente che le considerazioni di Vitruvio riguardano l'architettura templare⁴⁸. Colonne e semi-colonne di edifici profani come il portico in questione non erano legate a queste prescrizioni e potevano mostrare forme miste di elementi tuscanici, dorici, ionici e corinzi. Comunque si può affermare che le proporzioni del fregio in esame non si oppongono a un inserimento nel complesso della 'terrazza nord'.

Recentemente è stato proposto da Filippo Coarelli di riconoscere nella 'terrazza nord' di Alba Fucens il *Caesareum* della città e nel sepolcro ivi esistente la tomba con *heroon* di un figlio di M. Emilio Lepido (console nel 78 a.C.), adottato da uno Scipione e ucciso da Pompeo ad Alba Fucens nel 78 a.C.⁴⁹. Questo evento viene trasmesso solo da Orosio e da questo localizzato in una *Albanorum civitas*, sicuramente da cercare in Italia⁵⁰. L'identificazione già proposta con Alba Longa⁵¹ non può certo essere tenuta in considerazione e il contesto sembra anche escludere l'identificazione proposta con Alba

⁴⁵ Sull' ordine tuscanico v. L. POLACCO, *Tuscanicae dispositiones*, Firenze 1952; J. GIMENO, *Tipología y aplicaciones de elementos doricos y toscanos en Hispania: el modelo del N.E.*, *AEA* 62 (1989), p. 101ss. (con bibl. ant.).

⁴⁶ Vitruvio IV 7.2-3.

⁴⁷ Cf. P. GROS, *Hermodoros et Vitruve*, *MEFR* 85 (1973), p. 152; E. TORTORICI, *Il tempio presso S. Salvatore in Campo: V. Vespignani ed Ermodoro di Salamina*, in *Topografia Romana (Quad. Top. Ant., 10)*, Firenze 1988, p. 65ss.

⁴⁸ Cf. F. PRAYON, *Zur Genese der tuskanischen Säule*, in *Vitruv-Kolloquium* (1982) (*Schriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Verbandes*, 8), Darmstadt 1984, p. 151.

⁴⁹ F. COARELLI, *Da Carsoli a Cività di Antino* (itinerario 2), in F. COARELLI - A. LA REGINA, *Abruzzo-Molise (Guide Archeologiche Laterza)*, 9, Roma-Bari 1984, p. 97-98.

⁵⁰ Orosio V 22.17 e 24.16.

⁵¹ R.J. DEFERRARI, *Paulus Orosius. The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, Washington 1964, p. 221.

Pompeia in Liguria⁵². Secondo il Coarelli, che certamente a ragione localizza ad Alba Fucens l'episodio sanguinario del 78 a.C. tramandato da Orosio⁵³, il complesso monumentale della 'terrazza nord' sarebbe stato realizzato verso la metà del I secolo a.C. da un fratello della vittima, il futuro triumviro M. Emilio Lepido.

Ad avvalorare questa interessante ipotesi potrebbe forse essere chiamato in causa un frammento epigrafico di Alba Fucens, certamente databile verso la metà del I secolo a.C. (fig. 11)⁵⁴. Di questo frammento sono possibili diverse letture⁵⁵, ma data la scrittura monumentale, avvicinabile p.e. a quella della dedica a Giulio Cesare da Alba Fucens⁵⁶, la lettura seguente è forse la più probabile: [?. Aemilius?. f.?.]n. Lepid[us]. Manca purtroppo ogni indizio sia sul luogo preciso di ritrovamento che sulla destinazione originaria dell'iscrizione: commemorativa? dedicatoria? ...

Un elemento importante in questo dossier è il ritratto d'uomo, databile in età tardo-repubblicana, rinvenuto occasionalmente nel 1947 nell'angolo settentrionale della 'terrazza nord' (figg. 12-14)⁵⁷. Anche se non è completamente da escludere che si tratti di un membro della classe dirigente locale⁵⁸, l'ottima qualità del ritratto nonché il luogo di ritrovamento rendono più probabile che si tratti di un personaggio importante della capitale. L'identificazione iniziale con Silla, poco

⁵² V. DURUY, *Histoire des Romains* II, Paris 1880, p. 733; J. CARCOPINO, *César* (= *Hist. Rom.* II 2), Paris 1950, p. 537; L. PARETI, *Storia di Roma e del mondo romano* III, Torino 1953, p. 648; C. ZANGEMEISTER, *Paulus Orosius. Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, Hildesheim 1967, p. 710.

⁵³ V. n. 49. Cf. già Th. MOMMSEN, *Römische Geschichte* III, Berlin s.d., p. 27-28, 633; R. HÜLSEN, s.v. *Alba Fucens*, in *RE* I 1 (1893), col. 1300; e anche A. LIPPOLD, *Paulus Orosius. Die Antike Weltgeschichte in christlicher Sicht, Buch V-VII*, Zürich-München 1986, p. 248.

⁵⁴ Frammento inedito, conservato a Celano nel magazzino degli scavi di Alba Fucens, senza indicazione precisa della provenienza. Si tratta di una scheggia di blocco in pietra calcarea (alt. mass. cm 23; largh. mass. cm 27,5), di spessore irregolare (mass. cm 6). Le lettere, tra due linee di guida, sono alte cm 7,5.

⁵⁵ E.g.: *N(umerius) Lepidus* (cf. *CIL* IX 988), *Lepidius* (cf. *CIL* IX 385, 386, 1693, 4763a) o *Lepidianus* (cf. *CIL* IX 2693).

⁵⁶ V. F. DE VISSCHER, *Gli scavi di Alba Fucens nel 1963 e il patrocinio di Giulio Cesare*, *RPAA* 36 (1963-64), p. 45-61; ID., *Jules César, patron d'Alba Fucens*, *AC* 33 (1964), p. 98-107. La forma della P e della E è tipica per la fine della Repubblica (v. p.e. anche *CIL* IX 3906 e F. DE VISSCHER, *AC* 24, 1955, p. 73 n. 25 e tav. xxxii).

⁵⁷ F. DE RUYT, *op. cit.* (not. 2), p. 10ss. n. 1 (con tutta la bibl. ant.).

⁵⁸ Cf. P. ZANKER, *Zur Rezeption des hellenistischen Individualporträts in Rom und in den italischen Städten*, in *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien (Abhandl. Akad. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., III. F., 97)*, vol. II, Göttingen 1976, p. 602 not. 97.

convincente dal punto di vista iconografico, era basata soprattutto su dati storici, cioè un base di statua con dedica a Silla riadoperata nella chiesa di S. Pietro ad Albe e l'attribuzione ad «epoca sillana» della grande terrazza dove fu trovato il ritratto⁵⁹. Questa identificazione fu generalmente accettata con molte riserve se non respinta⁶⁰. L'interpretazione storica del complesso, databile piuttosto verso la metà del I secolo a.C., nonché la somiglianza con immagini monetali di M. Emilio Lepido portarono Filippo Coarelli a riconoscere quest'ultimo nel ritratto in questione⁶¹. Un altro ritratto da Alba Fucens viene dal Coarelli identificato con lo Scipione, figlio del console M. Emilio Lepido (cos. 78), ucciso e sepolto qui.

Si per Lepido che per Silla l'iconografia è ancora molto controversa. Si basa essenzialmente su immagini monetali, assai diverse fra loro, con le quali vengono collegati ritratti su gemme e sculture⁶². Anche se i dati forniti dalle monete possono talvolta sembrare contraddittori e esser messi in dubbio⁶³, non possono essere ignorati, come ha fatto recentemente il Grimm per il quale l'identificazione dei ritratti di Lepido si riduce a un affare di ciocche⁶⁴. Il contesto storico, la datazione del ritratto, nonché la rassomiglianza con le monete (cf. p.e. le figg. 12 e 15), rendono più probabile che si tratti di Lepido piuttosto che di Silla. Ora un Lepido sembra anche attestato epigraficamente ad Alba Fucens.

Il fregio d'armi sopra esaminato, per il quale niente si oppone a una datazione verso la metà del I secolo a.C., si collocerebbe benissimo in questo contesto monumentale. Va anche tenuto presente che il blocco

⁵⁹ CIL IX 3918; cf. F. DE RUYT, *op. cit.* (not. 2), p. 13-14.

⁶⁰ Cf. p.e. P. ZANKER, *loc. cit.* (not. 58); F. BARATTE, *AC* 53 (1984), p. 563; J. MERTENS, *op. cit.* (not. 42), p. 49, 51.

⁶¹ F. COARELLI, *loc. cit.* (not. 49).

⁶² Oltre la bibliografia citata in J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Roman Historical Portraits*, London 1978, p. 22-23 e 50-51 si veda anche J.J. BERNOUILLI, *Römische Ikonographie* I, Stuttgart 1882, p. 86ss. e 220ss.; A. DE FRANCISCIS, s.v. *Emilio Lepido*, in *Enc. Arte Ant.* III (1960), p. 328-329; H. ZEHNACKER, *Premiers portraits réalistes sur les monnaies de la République romaine*, *RN* ser. VI, 3 (1961), p. 38ss.; M. BORDA, s.v. *Silla*, in *Enc. Arte Ant.* VII (1966) p. 296; M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* I, Mainz 1974, p. 30, 96 not. 10, e *passim*; II, Mainz 1972, tav. 21, 34, 36, 56, 60, 102, 106; J.P.C. KENT - M. & A. HIRMER, *Roman Coins*, London 1978, tav. 20 (74) e 30 (108).

⁶³ Cf. p.e. B. SCHWEITZER, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, Leipzig-Weimar 1948, *passim*; M.-L. VOLLENWEIDER, *op. cit.* (not. 62), p. 96 not. 10; P. ZANKER, *art. cit.* (not. 58), p. 587 not. 25.

⁶⁴ G. GRIMM, *Die Porträts der Triumvirn C. Octavius, M. Antonius und M. Aemilius Lepidus*, *Röm. Mitt.* 96 (1989), p. 350ss.

n. 1 (l'unico di cui ci sono noti il luogo e le circostanze del rinvenimento) fu trovato — senz'altro riutilizzato — in una tomba sul pendio occidentale della collina di Alba Fucens, a un chilometro e mezzo circa dalle mura, lungo la via proveniente dalla Valle del Liri che portava in città attraverso la Porta Massima, cioè non lontano dalla 'terrazza nord'⁶⁵. Per la stessa strada il blocco n. 5 fu trasportato (insieme ad altri blocchi?) verso il convento benedettino di S. Pietro di Corcumello, a una decina di chilometri da Alba⁶⁶. Per gli abitanti di Massa d'Albe, a 3 km a nord, dove sono tornati alla luce i frammenti combaccianti nn. 2-3, la 'terrazza nord' era anche la parte più vicina della vecchia città per approvvigionarsi di materiale da costruzione. Così, anche se purtroppo manca ancora una prova decisiva, di tutti i dati a disposizione — interni ed esterni — assolutamente nessuno si oppone ad un inserimento del fregio esaminato nel complesso monumentale — un *campus* con *heroon* — sotto le mura nord-occidentali di Alba Fucens. Questo complesso potrebbe essere paragonato alla terrazza che si estende ai piedi della costruzione monumentale a nicchie a Todi⁶⁷. Questa spianata, ora occupata dalla piazza del Mercato Vecchio di Todi, aveva forse in antico una funzione simile alla 'terrazza nord' di Alba Fucens⁶⁸. Era situata fuori le mura — ma accessibile dalla città come ad Alba Fucens attraverso una *via tecta*⁶⁹ — e aveva come fondo il monumentale muro con i c.d. 'nicchioni', costruito in età triumvirale e coronato con un fregio dorico di cui diversi metopi sono decorati con motivi militari⁷⁰.

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⁶⁵ Cf. J. MERTENS, *art. cit.* (not. 44), p. 44 fig. 3d.

⁶⁶ G. GROSSI, *art. cit.* (not. 21), p. 129, 132.

⁶⁷ M. TASCIO, *Todi (Città antiche in Italia, 2)*, Roma 1989, p. 35ss., 94ss.

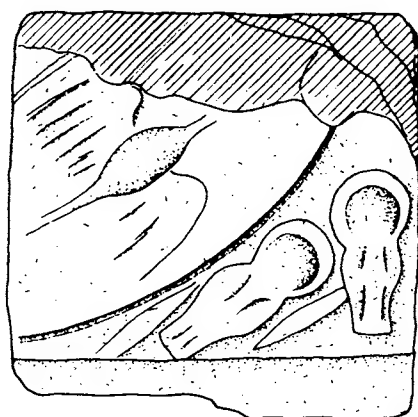
⁶⁸ Cf. P. FONTAINE, *Cités et enceintes de l'Ombrie antique*, Bruxelles-Roma 1990, p. 201 not. 41, 208ss.

⁶⁹ M. TASCIO, *op. cit.* (not. 67), p. 36 fig. 25, 41-42; J. MERTENS, *art. cit.* (not. 44), p. 104 e tav. xxxixa. Alcuni blocchi di cornice, riadoperati in tombe tardive nel corridoio d'ingresso e presso il monumento della 'terrazza nord' (scavi 1959, tr. 136 e 140), potrebbero provenire dal portico della terrazza.

⁷⁰ J.-Cl. JOULIA, *Les frises doriques de Narbonne*, Bruxelles 1988, p. 263; M. TASCIO, *op. cit.* (not. 67), fig. 26 e 33.



Fig. 1a.



0 50 cm

Fig. 1b.

Frammento n. 1 (Celano, Castello)



Fig. 2a.

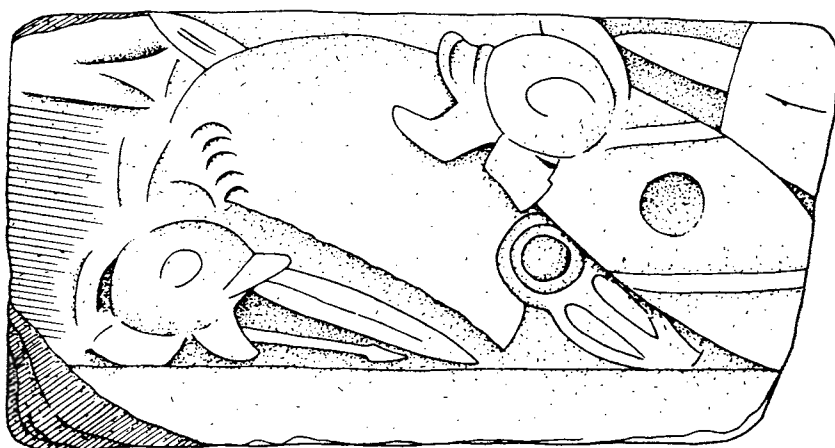


Fig. 2b.

Frammento n. 2 (Massa d'Albe, villa Tollis)



Fig. 3a.

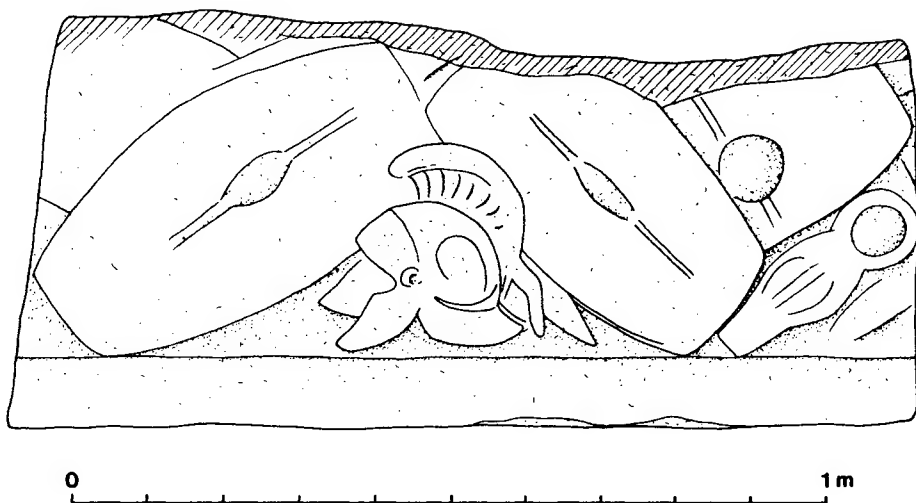


Fig. 3b.

Frammento n. 3 (Massa d'Albe, villa Tollis)



Fig. 4a.

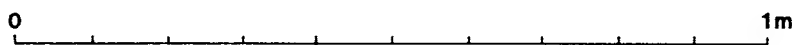
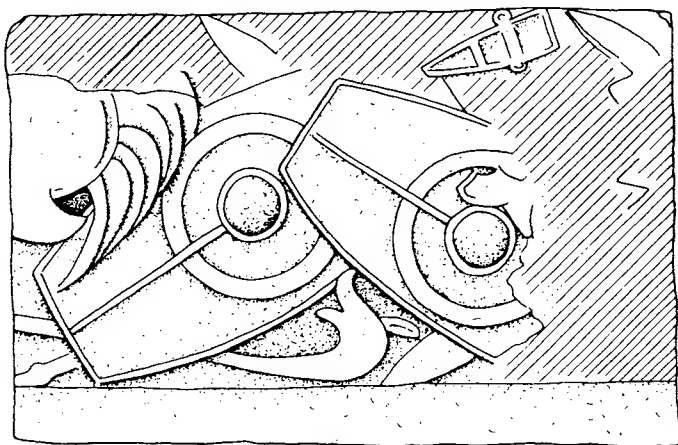


Fig. 4b.

Frammento n. 4 (Avezzano, Museo Civico)



Fig. 4c.



Fig. 4d.

Frammento n. 4: lati superiore e inferiore

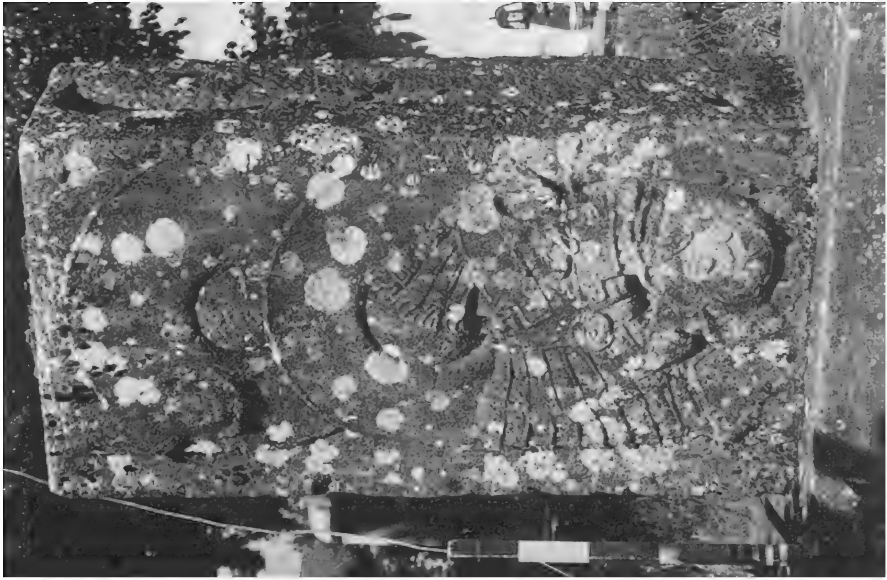


Fig. 5a.

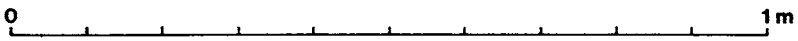
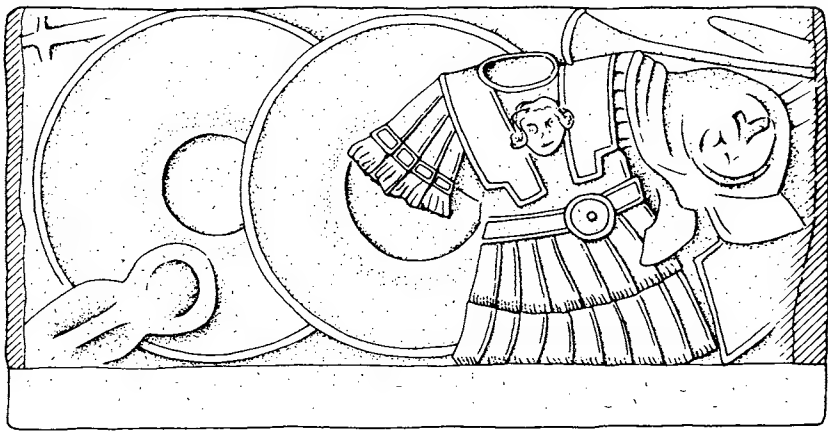


Fig. 5b.

Frammento n. 5 (Corcumello, cimitero)

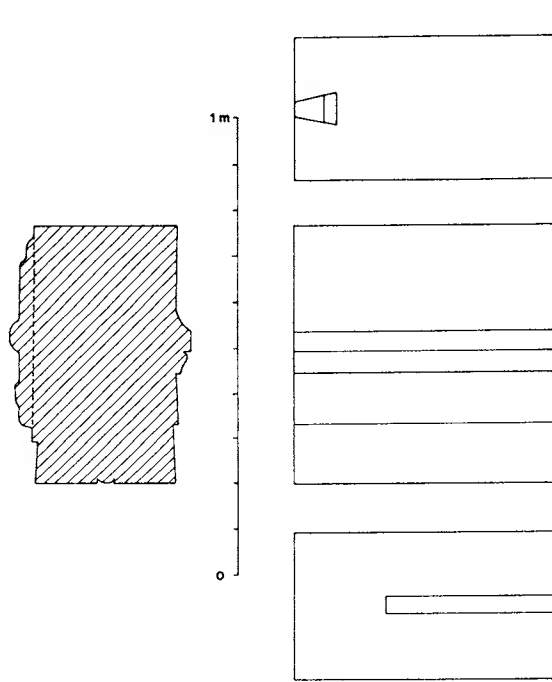


Fig. 6.

Sezione e lati superiore, posteriore e inferiore dei blocchi d'architrave



Fig. 7.

Parte posteriore del frammento n. 2



Fig. 8.

Pietrabbondante: rilievo con fregio d'armi
(da V. Cianfarani *et al.*)

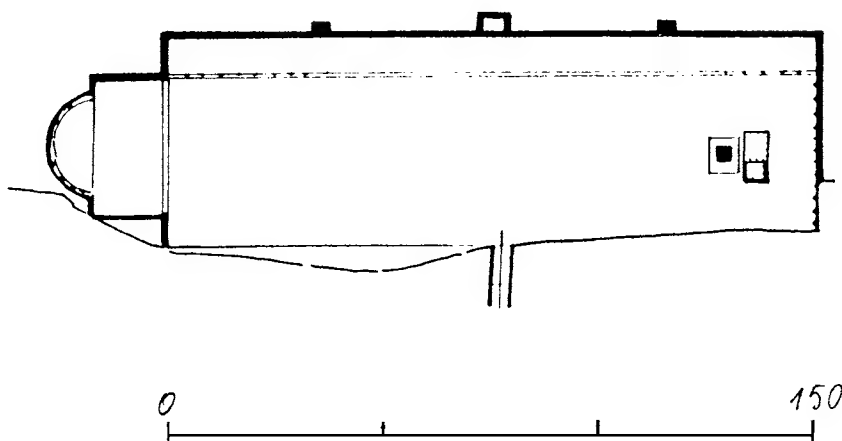


Fig. 9.

Pianta della 'terrazza nord' di Alba Fucens
(da J. Mertens)

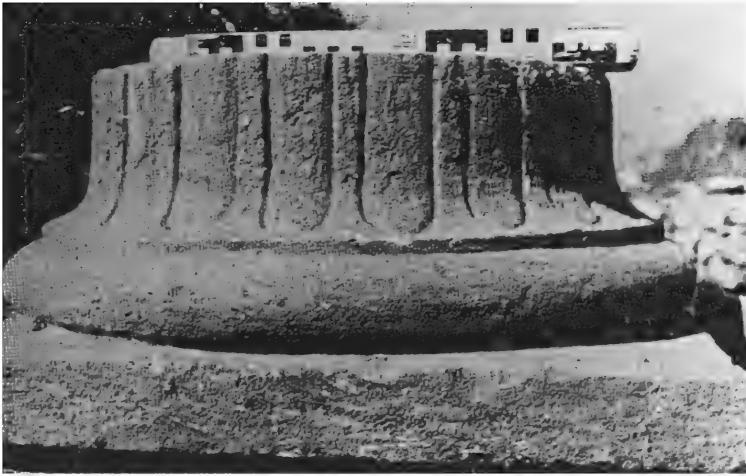


Fig. 10.

Base di colonna del portico della 'terrazza nord' di Alba Fucens
(da J. Mertens)

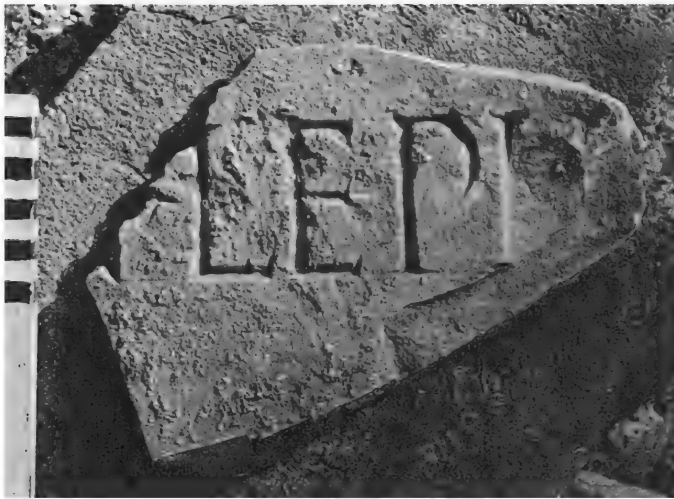


Fig. 11.

Celano, Castello: frammento epigrafico proveniente da Alba Fucens

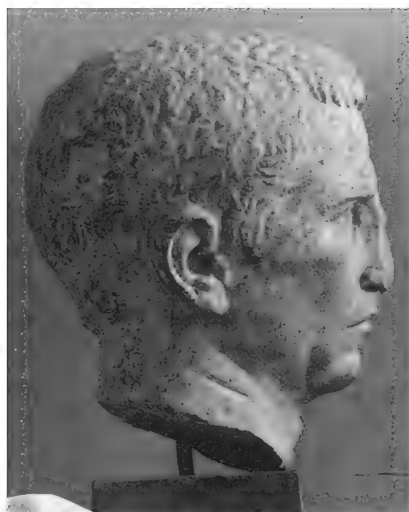


Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

Chieto, Museo Nazionale: ritratto d'uomo da Alba Fucens (Lepido?) (Ist. Arch. Germ. neg. 67879-80 e V. Cianfarani, Schede Mus. Naz. Chieto, 3ª ser., 1972)

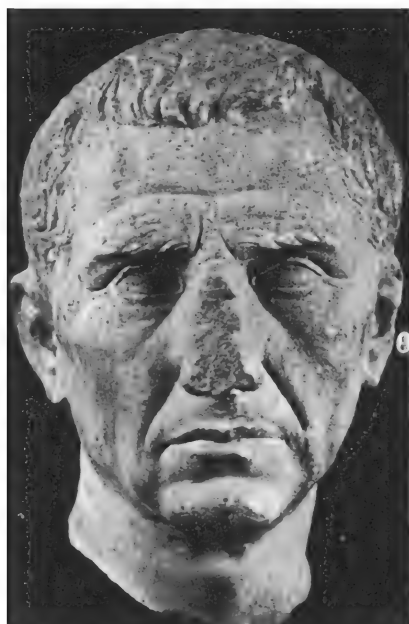


Fig. 14.



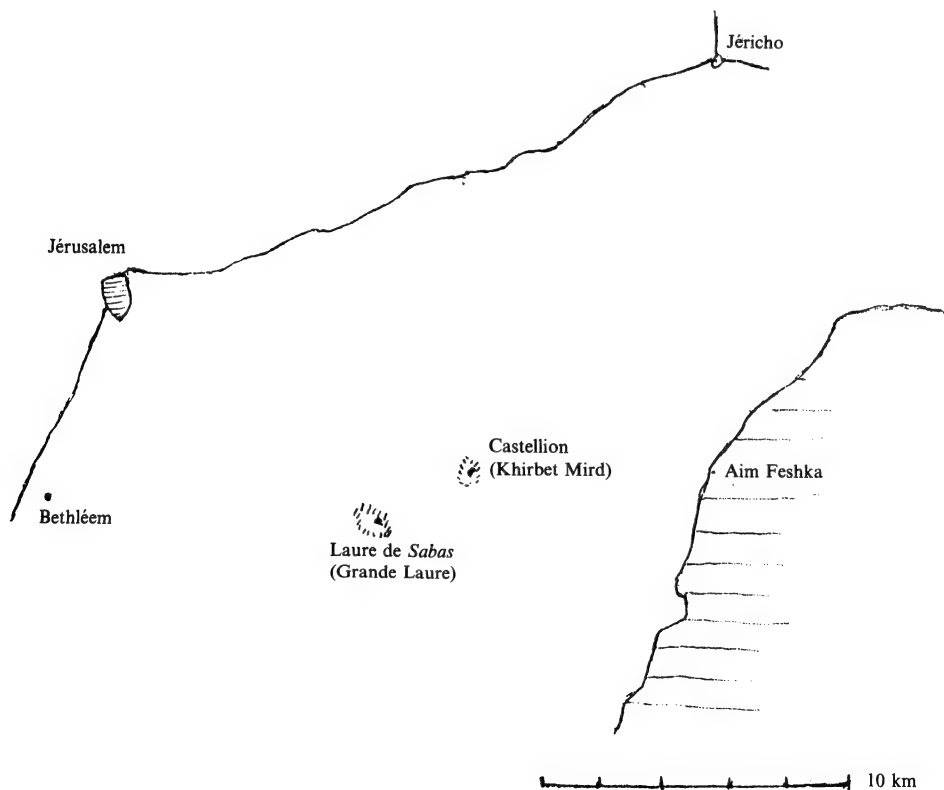
Fig. 15.

Moneta con ritratto del triumviro M. Emilio Lepido (da Kent-Hirmer)

CINQ TEXTES PROVENANT DE KHIRBET MIRD

Au professeur Herman Verdin
promu à l'éméritat,
en hommage sincère

Les *P. Khirbet Mird* grecs ont été trouvés, en même temps que des fragments arabes et christo-palestiniens, dans un monastère abandonné, le Castellion de Khirbet Mird, dans le désert de Juda, à 4 kilomètres au Nord-Est de la célèbre Laure de Mar Saba et à 10 kilomètres de la Mer Morte¹. D'après la nature des fouilles qui les ont mis au jour, on



¹ Cf. R. DE VAUX, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, *RBi* 60 (1953), p. 85, avec les précisions et corrections de J.T. MILIK, *Une inscription et une lettre en araméen christo-palestinien*, *ibid.*, p. 526-539.

distingue deux groupes de papyrus. Le premier, le plus important et le plus intéressant, comporte les fragments trouvés par les bédouins en juillet 1952 (ce sont les P.A.M., du nom du Palestine Archaeological Museum, aujourd'hui désigné sous le nom de Musée Rockefeller, qui les a acquis)². Le deuxième contient les fragments découverts plus tard, en février-mars 1953, par la Mission Archéologique Belge, patronnée par l'université de Louvain et dirigée par feu Mgr R. De Langhe (ce sont les M.A.B.)³.

Tous les fragments grecs (P.A.M. et M.A.B.) ont été confiés pour étude et publication à l'université de Louvain, où ils se trouvent actuellement à la bibliothèque universitaire⁴.

Parmi ces fragments, souvent très mutilés et portant des écritures très pâlies, je suis parvenu à déchiffrer et à identifier deux textes documentaires, quatre fragments bibliques, deux pièces liturgiques et un exercice d'écriture (deux alphabets)⁵. Ces documents ne manquent pas d'intérêt, surtout pour l'histoire de l'écriture.

La lettre monastique P.A.M. 22 (n° 1) donne, comme nous l'avons dit à la note 2, le nom du monastère; elle atteste aussi une évolution de la vie monastique en Palestine: le passage de la cellule à deux anachorètes (le maître et son disciple) à celle de plus de deux anachorètes. Quant à la lettre ecclésiastique P.A.M. 8b (n° 2), écrite dans une minuscule documentaire verticale, elle révèle à sa façon l'importance du monas-

² Nous verrons que la lettre monastique P.A.M. 22 confirme les dires des bédouins sur la provenance des fragments: à la ligne 9, elle porte en effet comme lieu d'envoi Μάρης (pour Μάρδης), qui est le nom du monastère de Khirbet Mird.

³ Les deux autres membres de la Mission étaient le Capitaine P. Lippens et le Professeur J. Ryckmans. Cf. R. DE LANGHE, *Eenzaam in de woestijn van Juda, Onze Alma Mater* 14 (1960), fasc. 3, p. 1-9.

⁴ Sauf les plaques M.A.B. 9, 11, 12, 13, 15 et 25, selon l'inventaire dressé par le bibliothécaire Monsieur J. Roegiers, lors de la division de l'université. Mgr De Langhe avait transporté les papyrus de Jérusalem à Louvain, où il les conservait à son domicile; à sa mort, ils ont été déposés dans le tabularium de la bibliothèque universitaire.

Pour les fragments christo-palestiniens, les premiers écrits en cette langue sur parchemin ou papyrus découverts en Palestine même, voir Ch. PERROT, *Un fragment christo-palestinien découvert à Khirbet Mird (Actes des Apôtres, X, 28-29; 32-41)*, *RBi* 70 (1963), p. 506-555. Quant aux textes arabes, qui sont surtout des fragments de lettres privées des deux ou trois premiers siècles de l'Hégire, ils ont été publiés par A. GROHMANN, *Arabic Papyri from Hirbet El-Mird (Bibliothèque du Muséon, 52)*, Louvain 1963.

⁵ Je remercie Monsieur J. Roegiers, bibliothécaire en chef, qui m'a permis de publier ces papyrus dont l'étude m'avait jadis été confiée par Mgr R. De Langhe. Mes vifs remerciements vont aussi à mon collègue W. Clarysse, qui, avec beaucoup d'efficacité et de patience, m'a aidé dans la lecture des originaux.

tère. Il y est question, en effet, de rapports entre les autorités ecclésiastiques (le métropolite de Damas, l'évêque de Naplouse) et le monastère.

Les textes bibliques sont tous des fragments de livres destinés à la lecture publique. Le manuscrit avec les évangiles de Marc et Jean (P.A.M. 4, 11, 26, 27) comporte, dans la marge supérieure, des τίτλοι, par exemple περὶ τῶν πέντε ἄρτων καὶ δύο ἰχθύων pour la péricope de la multiplication des pains (Marc 6.32-44). Le fragment des Actes (P.A.M. 8a) est, avec le codex Bezae, un des plus anciens témoins de la disposition du texte par lignes de sens (*per cola et commata*). Sa grande onciale biblique, avec son beau clair-obscur, est apparemment une écriture propre au Proche-Orient byzantin, à l'époque de Justinien; elle ressemble à celle du codex Nitriensis (évangile de Luc), dont l'origine est orientale, comme je l'ai montré dans mon *Catalogue*⁶. Le fragment de la Sagesse (P.A.M. 21) est un nouveau témoin de l'utilisation de l'onziale bouclée de type copte, dite aussi majuscule alexandrine, en dehors de l'Égypte; il s'ajoute aux fragments trouvés en Palestine, à Nessana. Sauf le fragment des Actes (P.A.M. 8a), les textes bibliques sont trop déchiquetés et trop courts pour pouvoir être utilisés avec profit par les spécialistes de l'histoire du texte biblique.

Les deux feuillets mutilés P.A.M. 1 et 2 (n° 3) faisaient partie d'un *tropologion*, un recueil de tropaires, dans lequel les pièces étaient disposées dans l'ordre chronologique des fêtes, fixes ou mobiles. C'est actuellement le seul manuscrit de son espèce. J'ai pu identifier les deux tropaires pascaux Ἐν μνήματι ἐτέθης et Αἱ θεοφόροι μετὰ τῶν μύρων γυναικες, écrits dans une minuscule de librairie penchée, ainsi que le tropaire Τὴν τῶν αἰρέσεων πλάνην, pour la fête de saint Athanase, connu par les Ménées, copié dans une onciale ogivale penchée. Pour l'origine géographique et chronologique de l'introduction de la minuscule dans la copie des livres — une 'invention' comparable à l'invention de l'imprimerie (P. Lemerle) — ce document est d'un intérêt exceptionnel. Cette copie privée à l'usage du chantre du monastère est en effet un nouveau témoin de la minuscule livresque antérieure à la minuscule dite stoudite. Elle ressemble par son allure cursive à la «minuscule hagiopolite», connue par le Vat. Gr. 2200, dont E. Follieri situe l'origine dans la région de Jérusalem. Son *Sitz-im-Leben* est le Castellion de Khirbet Mird, fondé par saint Sabas. Je propose de lui donner le nom de «minuscule sabaïte».

⁶ Cf. J. VAN HAELST, *Catalogue*, n° 400

Au verso de la lettre monastique P.A.M. 22 (n° 4), on trouve, dans une minuscule livresque penchée, une liste d'*initia* de δοξαστικά s.e. τροπάρια, c.-à-d. de tropaires qui accompagnent la doxologie.

Enfin, les deux alphabets M.A.B. G 3a et 4b (n° 5), probablement suivis du début d'un tropaire, constituent un exercice d'apprentissage de l'onciale ogivale penchée par un scribe débutant. La date la plus probable de ce document serait le 9^e siècle, à une époque où la majuscule est réservée à l'usage ecclésiastique. Cette majuscule, avec les deux autres majuscules canoniques de la fin de l'Antiquité, la majuscule biblique et la majuscule alexandrine, avait une fonction catéchétique. En effet, 'voir' cette majuscule, c'est 'voir' un texte sacré, c'est 'percevoir' en lui la présence divine⁷. A l'instar de l'icône, elle possède une efficacité quasi-sacramentelle.

Grâce aux récits d'auteurs anciens, Cyrille de Scythopolis, Jean Moschos et l'auteur de la Vie de saint Étienne, moine thaumaturge, nous connaissons quelques dates importantes de l'histoire du Castellion et nous pouvons préciser le genre de vie cénobitique que les moines y menaient⁸.

Nous savons par Cyrille de Scythopolis⁹ que la fondation du coenobion remonte à l'année 492, en la 53^e année de la vie du vénérable Sabas, deux ans après la dédicace de l'église principale («l'église créée par Dieu») et la venue de l'évêque Jean à la Laure. Cette année-là saint Sabas arriva à la colline du Castellion (τὸ καστέλλιον) pour y demeurer tout le temps du Carême, du 31 janvier jusqu'à Pâques (5 avril). Après avoir passé la fête de Pâques et de la Pentecôte à la Laure, il retourna au Castellion en compagnie de quelques moines, et commença de nettoyer le lieu et d'y bâtir des cellules avec les matériaux qu'il avait trouvés là. Il y découvrit une grande chambre d'habitation voûtée faite de pierres admirables, dont il fit une église. Nous savons grâce aux fouilles de la *Copper Scroll Expedition*, en 1960, sous la direction de J. Allegro, que ces ruines sont celles de la forteresse élevée par Hyrcan

⁷ Cf. G. CAVALLO, *Funzione e struttura della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII et XI*, dans *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 1977, p. 96.

⁸ Cf. J.T. MILIK, *The Monastery of Kastellion*, *Biblica* 42 (1961), p. 21-27; Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period*, New Haven-Londres 1992, p. 52, pl. 27-28 (deux plans du monastère).

⁹ Cf. E. SCHWARTZ, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939, p. 110-113; traduction de A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Cyrille de Scythopolis, Vie de S. Sabas*, dans *Les Moines d'Orient* III 2, Paris 1962, p. 37-39.

et prise en 31 avant J.-Chr. par Hérode le Grand¹⁰. Pour diriger la communauté, saint Sabas fit appel à un ancien anachorète, Paul, qu'il nomma administrateur (διοικητής). Ce terme ainsi que celui de διοικήσις pour désigner la fonction suggèrent une nomination directe par l'abbé de la Grande Laure.

Jean Moschos, auteur du *Pré Spirituel*, raconte vers la fin du 6^e siècle qu'il rencontra le prêtre Agathonikos, «Abbé du coenobion de Castellion de notre père Sabas»¹¹. A la même époque, d'après son récit, des ermitages ont dû — semble-t-il — s'installer dans le voisinage du monastère¹², sur la colline de Mird¹³.

Plus tard, au 8^e siècle, le monastère est encore mentionné dans la vie de saint Étienne, moine thaumaturge (735-754)¹⁴. L'auteur utilise les expressions ἐν τῇ εὐαγεῖ μονῇ τοῦ Καστελλίου et ἐν τοῖς Καστελλικοῖς σπηλαίοις.

Selon Cyrille de Scythopolis 113.1, saint Sabas destinait le coenobion aux «hommes d'âge et qui se distinguaient par leurs vertus monastiques» (trad. Festugière). C'est là une précision importante, car elle permet de situer le coenobion dans la tradition monastique inaugurée par saint Euthyme et canonisée par saint Sabas. Dans celle-ci, à la différence de celle inspirée par saint Basile, la vie cénobitique n'est pas un but en soi, elle n'est pas l'idéal du moine: le coenobion existe en fonction de la vie anachorétique¹⁵. On y trouve trois types de coenobion: le coenobion-noviciat dans lequel le jeune moine se prépare à la vie d'anachorète, «il est à la laure, ce que la fleur est au fruit» (Chitty);

¹⁰ Cf. G.R.H. WRIGHT, *The Archaeological Remains at El Mird in the Wilderness of Judaea*, *Biblica* 42 (1961), p. 1-21.

¹¹ *Le Pré Spirituel*, ch. 167; *PG* LXXXVII, col. 3033; *PL* LXXIV, col. 203; traduction française par M.-J. ROUËT DE JOURNEL (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 12), Paris 1946, p. 220sqq.

¹² *Ibid.*, ch. 158; *PG*, LXXXVII, col. 3025; *PL*, LXXIV, col. 199. On connaît d'autres exemples. Vers 500, Seridos fonda, dans la région de Gaza, un établissement cénobitique, comprenant dans l'enceinte même du monastère ou à proximité, des cellules isolées; cf. D.J. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966, p. 132. Pour l'Égypte, la vie de Longin (VI^e s.) nous apprend qu'il y avait à l'Ennaton, désigné sous le nom de laure, des coenobia proprement dits, en même temps que des cellules isolées, où l'on vivait à quatre ou cinq, cf. P. VAN CAUWENBERGH, *Études sur les moines d'Égypte*, Paris 1914, p. 71.

¹³ L'auteur l'appelle par son nom araméen *Mard(a)*, rendu dans la tradition manuscrite par *Mardes* et *Μάρδης*, au sens de forteresse, avec la traduction *castellum* ou *καστέλλιον*. Après le VI^e siècle, *Mard(a)* est devenu *Mirda*, d'où l'arabe *El-Mird*, cf. J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.* (n. 7).

¹⁴ Sur la vie de saint Étienne, cf. G. GARITTE, *AB* 77 (1959) (Vie arabe) et *Acta Sanctorum Julii III* (Vie grecque).

¹⁵ Cf. D.J. CHITTY, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 85.

le coenobion-cellule: en raison de l'affluence de nouveaux postulants, la cellule du moine réputé pour sa sainteté se transforme par la force des choses en coenobion (Cyrille de Scythopolis 120.25-121.2 écrit à propos du coenobion de Nicopolis: «cette cellule (habitée par Sabas) devint un coenobion»); enfin, le coenobion-forteresse: pour des raisons de sécurité, pour se protéger contre les brigands, les moines-anachorètes vivent en communauté, de préférence en des endroits fortifiés. Le Castellion, érigé sur les ruines de la forteresse Hyrcania, est un exemple de ce dernier type¹⁶.

Dans la présente revue d'histoire, nous donnons une première présentation des deux textes documentaires, des deux textes liturgiques et des alphabets, réservant la publication des textes bibliques aux *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*.

1. LETTRE MONASTIQUE

Kh. Mird P.A.M. 22

11 × 22 cm

8^e siècle

Recto ↓

Planche 1

Fin d'une lettre, dont nous ignorons le contenu (le mot ἔντευξις est trop vague pour qu'on puisse en tirer quelque chose) avec des politesses monastiques, inspirées de la Bible, qui rappellent celles des *P. Fouad* publiés par H.-I. Marrou. Ces politesses sont suivies d'un post-scriptum avec des salutations. Au verso, on lit des *initia* de τροπάρια δοξαστικά (n° 4).

Les huit lignes conservées sont écrites perpendiculairement aux fibres, ce qui est souvent le cas pour les lettres, du moins en Égypte. L'écriture est une minuscule documentaire penchée datant du 8^e siècle, semblable à celle des *P. Apoll.* et du *PSI 1266* (M. Norsa, *Scrittura Documentaria* III, pl. XXIX). Nous avons là un nouveau témoignage de l'unité de l'écriture grecque à travers le monde hellénisé, comme l'avait déjà remarqué L. Robert¹⁷. Il s'agit d'un brouillon de lettre: absence d'adresse au verso, mots écrits entre les lignes, dates différentes (26 et 25 juillet). Cette particularité expliquerait pourquoi cette lettre écrite au Castellion est restée au Castellion, où les bédouins l'ont trouvée.

¹⁶ Cf. D.J. CHITTY, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 108.

¹⁷ Cf. Claire PRÉAUX, *Le monde hellénistique*, p. 555 n. 1.

C'est le post-scriptum, écrit de la même main que la lettre, qui fait tout l'intérêt du document, pour trois raisons. D'abord, il donne à la ligne 9 comme lieu d'envoi de la lettre le monastère désigné par son nom araméen *Μάρης* (pour *Μάρδης*, cf. le commentaire). Comme nous l'avons vu (p. 301 n. 13), le terme *Μάρδης* est la forme grécisée du mot araméen *Mard(a)*, qui signifie forteresse, en latin *castellum*, d'où le grec *καστέλλιον*. C'est ce dernier terme que nous trouvons dans Cyrille de Scythopolis 112.15. Il atteste à sa façon le caractère gréco-araméen de la communauté monastique du Castellion que la présence des textes christo-palestiniens nous avait déjà révélé. Ensuite le terme *ἐπιστάτης*, ligne 7, avec la signification de maître spirituel, semble être propre à la Palestine (cf. la Vie de saint Étienne, la Vie de saint George de Qoziba, Jean Climaque, *Scala Paradisi*). Son correspondant égyptien est probablement *προεστώς*, cf. P. VAN CAUWENBERGH, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Enfin, l'expression *πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ*, à la ligne 7, qui laisse entendre qu'il y avait un nombre relativement élevé d'habitants dans l'ermitage, en tout cas plus de deux personnes, le maître et son disciple, sans tenir compte de la présence de l'abbé Sophronios de Damas, qui, nommé à part, y était probablement de passage. Elle témoigne, au 8^e siècle, de l'évolution de la vie monastique¹⁸: on est passé de la cellule à deux habitants (le maître et son compagnon) à celle de plus de deux habitants. En germe, le coenobion y est présent (cf. supra, p. 00).

].[. .] . [.] . . [.]].[
 [.]μετερα ι.ε[.]ως χάριτι Χ(ριστο)ῦ σ[.].[.].....[.]ρ...[
 ἐντεῦξων αἰσίως διεξάγεται. Ἐρρωμένοι, κεχαρ-
 μένοι, μακροχρόνιοι διαρκοίητε φρουρούσης
 5 ὡμᾶς τῆς Θ(εο)ῦ προνοίας εἰς καύχημα τῆς ἡμῶν
 οὐθενότητος † Ἐγγ(άφη) μ(ηνὸς) Ἰουλίου κς ἰνδ(ικτίονος) α'

¹⁸ On trouve la même situation en Égypte. R.-G. COQUIN, *L'évolution de la vie monastique*, dans *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie* 133, décembre 1988, p. 63, note que dans les Kellia on est passé au 7^e/8^e siècle d'un ermitage à deux unités d'habitation, celle de l'Ancien et celle du compagnon, à des constructions plus importantes réunissant trois, quatre, cinq voire même une dizaine de «cellules», avec un nombre correspondant d'ermite. Et il commente: «L'évolution de l'habitat révèle donc une évolution de l'anachorétisme lui-même: dans le récit de Rufin, »les cellules sont séparées les unes des autres, par une distance telle qu'ils [les ermites] ne peuvent ni se voir, ni faire entendre leur voix de l'une à l'autre«. Or, dans le stade que nous venons d'étudier, au contraire, plusieurs »cellules« sont juxtaposées à l'intérieur d'un même ermitage; la solitude est devenue relative et conditionnée davantage par la discipline que chacun veut bien s'imposer, que par la disposition de l'habitat». Pour la signification du terme *κέλλιον* dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte, voir G. HUSSON, *Oikia*, Paris 1983, s.v. *κέλλιον*.

† τὸν κύριν ἄββᾶ Σαμούηλ, τ(ὸν) ἐπιστά(την), σὺν καλογήρῳ
σου (καὶ) πάντ(ας) τοὺς ἐν τῷ κελλεῖῳ
γνησίως ἐξ ἡμῶν ἄσπασαι (καὶ) τ(ὸν) ἄββᾶ Σωφρόνιον τὸν
Δαμάσ(κηνον) †.

Ὁ καλόγηρ(ός) μου γνησίως σε [[ἄσ]] ἀσπάζεται. Ἐγρ(άφη) ἡ
ἐπιστολὴ ἀπὸ Μάρου μη(νός) Ιουλί(ου) κἔ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) α΄

7 l. κελλίῳ 9 γνησίως σε [[ἄσ]] ἀσπάζεται est écrit entre les
lignes

Traduction:

«- - - Puissiez vous rester forts, joyeux, vivre longtemps sous la
protection de la divine Providence, à la gloire de notre néant. † Ecrit
le 26 juillet de la première indiction

† Le seigneur abbé Samuel, le maître, et son caloyer, et tous les
habitants de l'ermitage, salue-les sincèrement de notre part, ainsi que
l'abbé Sophronios de Damas †

Mon caloyer vous salue sincèrement. Lettre écrite à Mares le 25 juillet
de la première indiction.»

4. διαρκοίητε pour διαρκοῖτε: forme d'optatif rare; le η surcharge ει.
5-6. εἰς καύχημα τῆς ἡμῶν οὐθενότητος: le mot καύχημα est paulinien,
cf. *Theol. Wört. N.T.* s.v. καυχάομαι (Bultmann). Dans le mépris de
soi-même éclateront la grâce et la puissance de Dieu. L'homme peut
donc «s'enorgueillir» de son néant. La formule ramassée καύχημα
οὐθενότητος est à rapprocher de II Cor. 11.30: Εἰ καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, τὰ
τῆς ἀσθενείας μου καυχῆσομαι, «s'il faut s'enorgueillir, je mettrai mon
orgueil dans ma faiblesse».

6. Remarquons que la date du corps de la lettre est postérieure à celle
du post-scriptum, l. 9.

7. τὸν κύριν: Κύρις est une forme tardive de κύριος.

Ἀββᾶ. Le titre ἄββᾶ n'a pas en Orient la valeur précise qu'il recevra
en Occident. Il se donne à tout moine méritant quelque respect particu-
lier, par exemple un maître notoire d'une communauté, comme ici
l'ἐπιστάτης Samuel. Sur le nom d'abbé chez les solitaires d'Égypte, cf.
J. DUPONT, dans *La Vie Spirituelle* n° 321 (1947), p. 216-230.

καλόγηρος, littéralement «bon vieillard, *bellus senex*», nom que se
donnaient les moines. Ὁ καλόγηρός μου est une expression familière
pour désigner le compagnon, le disciple, le successeur éventuel, les
moines pratiquant souvent la communauté à deux.



8. Je ne suis pas parvenu à identifier ce Sophronios de Damas, nommé séparément.

9. ἀπὸ Μάρου pour ἀπὸ Μάρδου. Μάρης, à la place de Μάρδης, est une faute de μεταγραμματισμός (transcription d'un alphabet d'une langue donnée dans l'alphabet d'une autre langue). En raison de la ressemblance entre les lettres *dôlath* (ד) et *resch* (ר) du mot araméen מרד (Mard(a)), le scribe a omis de transcrire en grec une des deux lettres. Pour la forme des lettres araméennes, cf. le tableau dressé par Ch. Perrot, *Un fragment christo-palestinien* (note 4), p. 554. On trouve la même transcription fautive dans la *PG* LXXXVII, col. 3025, tandis que la traduction latine a *Mardes* (*PL* LXXIV, col. 199). Signalons que le Coislin 369 (11^e siècle) a Μάρδης¹⁹.

2. LETTRE ECCLÉSIASTIQUE

Kh. Mird P.A.M. 8 (b) 15 × 4,5 cm

8^e siècle
Planche 2

Au recto, dans une minuscule documentaire verticale, trois lignes mutilées d'une lettre sur parchemin, probablement un fragment des salutations adressée à Zacharie, le métropolite de Damas, à l'évêque Jean de Naplouse et à un certain Euthyme. Puisque le document a été trouvé dans le Castellion, ces personnages devaient y résider, ce qui montre l'importance du monastère. Je ne suis pas parvenu à les identifier. On connaît un évêque Jean de Naplouse, qui a siégé au Concile de Jérusalem en 536 (Cf. MANSI, *Conciles* VIII, 1173D et VON HEFELE – LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Conciles* II, p. 1154.), et un évêque Zacharie de Damas (cf. LE QUIEN, *Oriens Christianus* II, col. 836). Mais il ne peut probablement pas s'agir de ces personnages dans la présente lettre, que, pour des raisons paléographiques, je date du 8^e siècle. On y trouve, en effet, des formes de lettres, semblables à celles de la minuscule livresque dite stoudite, par exemple le *pi* fermé =  qui est une forme plus évoluée que le *pi* ouvert . Ce dernier apparaît dans les lettres de Qurra B. Sharik (ed. C.H. Becker), *P. Heid.* III 1, 12 et 13, toutes les deux de 710 (planches 61 et 62 dans R. SEIDER,

¹⁹ Je remercie Monsieur B. Flusin, qui m'a signalé ce manuscrit et qui m'a donné d'utiles indications sur l'histoire du monachisme palestinien.

Paläographie der griechischen Papyri I, Urkunden); cf. E.M. THOMPSON, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Oxford 1912, p. 194. Au verso de ce document, perpendiculairement au texte du recto, on lit ἀπο[δός], reste de l'adresse.

Recto: - - - - -

[]. Ζαχ[αρ]ία μιτροπολ(ίτη) Δαμ(άσκου),
[]. κυρῷ Ἰάννῃ ἐπισκ(ό)πῳ Νεαπόλεως,
[ἀ]ξίῳ κυρῷ Εὐθυμίῳ γν(ησι)ο(τά)του
[]. +

Verso: ἀπο[δός]

1 l. μιτροπολ(ίτη) 2 l. Νεαπόλεως 3 l. κυρῷ, γν†

Traduction:

«A Zacharie, métropolite de Damas, -
au Seigneur Jean, évêque de Naplouse, - -
au digne Seigneur Euthymius, le très noble (?) - - «

2. Ἰάννῃ est une forme de Ἰωάννης, cf. J. O'CALLAGHAN, *Cartas cristianas griegas del siglo V*, Barcelone 1963, p. 39; F. PREISIGKE, *Namenbuch*, col. 155.

3. γν(ησι)ο(τά)του: la croix au-dessus du *nu* est un signe d'abréviation, cf. A.N. OIKONOMIDES, *Abbreviations in Greek Inscriptions, Papyri, Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, Chicago 1974, p. 35 (Avi-Yonah).

Verso: ἀπο[δός] Entre ἀπό et [δός], il y a un blanc pour laisser passer la ficelle. Pour les différentes formes d'adresse, voir J. O'CALLAGHAN, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

3. DEUX FEUILLETS D'UN ΤΡΟΠΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ

Kh. Mird P.A.M. 2	6 × 8 cm	8 ^e /9 ^e siècle
Kh. Mird P.A.M. 1	16 × 10 cm	Planches 3-6

J. VAN HÆLST, *Catalogue*, n°769.

Deux feuillets de parchemin, de mauvaise qualité, dont l'un est très mutilé, l'autre presque complet, d'un tropologion à l'usage du chantre de la communauté. Le *P. Kh. Mird P.A.M. 1 + 2* est actuellement le seul manuscrit de son espèce. Son contenu montre que le tropologion est un recueil de tropaires pour les fêtes de l'année, fixes ou mobiles. Le

tropaire est un hymne bref d'origine ecclésiastique, rythmé sur la quantité des syllabes (isosyllabie) et sur la disposition des accents toniques (homotonie), et chanté sur l'un des huit modes ou tons (ἤχος, τρόπος, *modus*) de la musique ecclésiastique. Ce recueil a dû être un des premiers livres liturgiques composés après le psautier et le lectionnaire, avant d'être démembré et dispersé à travers les livres liturgiques qui lui succédèrent: le Triodion (Τριώδιον – le livre liturgique qui donne les offices du temps préparatoire à la fête de Pâques), le Pentecostarion (Πεντηκοστόριον – le livre liturgique qui comporte les offices pour la période comprise entre Pâques et le premier dimanche après la Pentecôte), les Ménées (Μηναῖα – le livre liturgique contenant les offices des fêtes fixes qui tombent pendant l'un des douze mois de l'année), l'Horologion (Ὡρολόγιον – le livre qui contient l'ordre de l'office journalier).

Le *P. Kh. Mird* nous offre la plus ancienne attestation du mot. Plus tard, on le trouvera, avec le même sens, dans une lettre de Théodore Stoudite (9^e siècle) où celui-ci se plaint qu'on lui ait confisqué ses livres, son «Echelle» et son tropologion (PITRA, *AS I*, p. VIII: Βιβλία ἦρεν, τὴν κλίμακα καὶ τροπολόγιον, d'après l'éd. COZZA-LUZI, Rome 1871, p. 65, lettre 78). Dans les manuscrits des 10^e-11^e siècles, on l'utilisera pour désigner l'un ou l'autre des ouvrages liturgiques mentionnés plus haut. Au 11^e siècle, on l'appliquera également au kontakarion. Cf. J.-B. PITRA, *Analecta Sacra I, Prolegomena*, p. VI-XIX: *De Tropologio*; J. GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*, Paris 1977, p. 99-102.

Le petit fragment du premier feuillet (P.A.M. 2), palimpseste (on lit, dans une majuscule biblique du 5^e ou 6^e siècle, entre autres, les mots ἀλέκτωρ et ἐφώνησεν), porte au recto(?) une exerce de scribe (même écriture que celle du verso (?)): 4 lignes avec un alphabet écrit à rebours, en onciale ogivale penchée (la première lettre est manquante); au verso(?), la fin d'un tropaire se rapportant au Samedi-Saint, ainsi que le titre d'un recueil de tropaires pour la fête de la Résurrection (3 lignes en onciale ogivale penchée). On y trouve aussi des essais de plume.

Le feuillet P.A.M. 1 porte au recto et au verso, perpendiculairement à des réglures, plusieurs tropaires, dont trois plus ou moins complets que j'ai pu identifier grâce au Pentecostaire, aux Ménées et à l'Horologion. Il s'agit des deux tropaires pascaux Ἐν μνήματι ἐτέθης et Αἱ θεοφόροι γυναῖκες, et du tropaire Τὴν τῶν αἰρέσεων pour la fête de saint

Athanase du 2 mai, connu par les Ménées. Les deux premiers sont écrits dans une minuscule de librairie, le troisième dans une onciale ogivale penchée, identique à celle du feuillet P.A.M. 2.

Le tropaire Τὴν τῶν αἰρέσεων s'adresse à saint Athanase, et non pas à saint Sabas, le fondateur du Castellion, que le titre πατὴρ ἡμῶν dans un tropaire trouvé dans le monastère pourrait spontanément suggérer. Il n'est pas non plus un formulaire liturgique, utilisé ici pour saint Sabas, et dans d'autres circonstances, pour saint Athanase. Pour trois raisons. Le contenu dogmatique du tropaire est « nicéen ». Or, saint Athanase fut le champion de l'orthodoxie « nicéenne » et un opposant farouche aux Ariens. Il y a ensuite le calendrier liturgique. Par son contexte, le tropaire appartient au temps pascal. Or, seule la fête de saint Athanase du 2 mai peut tomber à cette époque. Enfin, dans les Ménées, ce tropaire est exclusivement utilisé pour les deux fêtes de saint Athanase (2 mai et 18 janvier).

Le tropaire Αἱ θεοφόροι γυναῖκες appartient probablement au Dimanche des Myrophores (3^e Dimanche après Pâques, dans la terminologie byzantine). C'est là que se trouvaient la plupart des pièces analogues dans le Pentecostarion. Or, quand Pâques tombe le 17 avril, le 3^e Dimanche tombe le 1^{er} mai, cf. E. MERCENIER, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin* II.1. *Fêtes fixes*, Chevetogne 1953, p. 56. Quand Pâques tombe un des jours suivants, le 2 mai tombe dans la semaine des Myrophores. On comprend donc la place du tropaire de saint Athanase. On ne le comprendrait pas si le tropaire Αἱ θεοφόροι γυναῖκες était destiné à la fête de Pâques.

Le rythme des tropaires Ἐν μνήματι ἐτέθης et Τὴν τῶν αἰρέσεων est κατὰ στίχον, celui du tropaire Αἱ θεοφόροι γυναῖκες, κατὰ δίστιχον. Les stiques sont des lignes d'égale longueur avec les accents toniques disposés aux mêmes endroits. Le respect de la règle de l'homotonie est un indice d'ancienneté, cf. P. MAAS – S.G. MERCATI – S. GASSISI, *Gleichzeitige Hymnen der byzantinischen Liturgie*, *ByzZ* 18 (1909), p. 309-356. Avec le temps les infractions contre l'isosyllabie et l'homotonie se multiplieront. Comparez par exemple le tropaire de St. Athanase de Khirbet Mird avec ceux conservés par les Ménées. On passe de la poésie byzantine d'inspiration grecque à la prose rythmique sous l'influence de la psalmodie et de la liturgie d'inspiration sémitique, où seuls comptent le retour régulier d'un même nombre d'accents toniques (et donc de mots importants) et celui de kola de plus ou moins égale longueur, cf. A. DIHLE, *Die Anfänge der griechischen akzentuierenden*

Verskunst, *Hermes* 82 (1954), p. 182-199, particulièrement p. 198-199; L. KOENEN, *Ein christlicher Prosahymnus des 4. Jhdts (O.Zucker 39)*, dans *Antidoron M. David (Pap. Lugd.-Bat., 17)*, Leiden 1968, p. 31-52. Sur la prosodie hébraïque, cf. E. DHORME, *La poésie biblique*, Paris 1931, p. 67-94.

Ce feuillet est d'un intérêt particulier pour la paléographie. Il porte sur un pied d'égalité une majuscule ogivale penchée (elle n'est pas encore une *Auszeichnungsschrift*, c.-à-d. une écriture réservée aux titres ou sous-titres) et une minuscule livresque. On peut dater ces deux écritures de la fin du 8^e ou du début du 9^e siècle. Pour l'onciale ogivale penchée en Palestine, nous avons deux repères chronologiques certains: le *P. Colt Nessana II 1* (un glossaire virgilien latin-grec du début 6^e-fin 7^e siècle) et le psautier Uspenkij de 862/63. J'attribue l'écriture du tropaire pour saint Athanase au 8^e-9^e siècle en raison de l'angle d'inclinaison, la forme du *rho*, de l'*upsilon* et du *phi*, le caractère peu prononcé de l'opposition entre pleins et déliés. Elle ressemble à l'*Auszeichnungsschrift* du Vat. Gr. 2200, dont la minuscule livresque est datée par les paléographes de la fin du 8^e ou du début du 9^e siècle, cf. G. CAVALLO - H. MAEHLER, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period (A.D. 300-800)*, n° 55C, avec renvoi à L. PERRIA, *Il Vat. gr. 2200: Note codicologica e paleografica*, dans *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, NS 20/21 (1983/84), p. 25-68. Quant à l'écriture des tropaires pascaux, elle est un nouveau témoin de l'écriture minuscule livresque antérieure à la minuscule stoudite, par exemple celle du Tétraévangile Uspensky de l'an 835, qui est déjà une minuscule élaborée. Écriture penchée, très proche de la minuscule documentaire, par exemple celle de la lettre monastique P.A.M. 22. Elle est probablement antérieure à celle du Vat. Gr. 2200, car on n'y trouve ni accent ni esprit²⁰.

²⁰ Cf. G. CAVALLO, *La κοινή scrittoria greco-romana nella prassi documentale di età bizantina*, *JÉByz* 19 (1970), p. 1-31; A. BLANCHARD, *Les origines lointaines de la minuscule*, dans *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 1977, p. 167-173; C. MANGO, *L'origine de la minuscule*, *ibid.*, p. 175-180; E. FOLLIERI, *La maiuscula libraria dei secoli IX e X*, *ibid.*, p. 139-165; L. POLITIS, *Nouveaux manuscrits grecs découverts au Mont Sinaï*, *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), p. 15-17. Cf. aussi J. IRIGOIN, *Structure et évolution des écritures livresques de l'époque byzantine*, dans *Polychronion (Festschrift Franz Dölger)*, Heidelberg 1966, p. 253-265; P. LEMERLE, *Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris 1971, p. 112 sqq. et 118 sq. Pour la majuscule ogivale penchée, cf. G. CAVALLO, *Funzione e struttura* (voir n. 7); voir aussi W. LAMEERE, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique*, Paris 1960, p. 177-181, et J. LEROY, *Un témoin ancien des «Petites Catéchèses» de Théodore Stoudite*, *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), p. 36-60.

Je remercie Monsieur A. Blanchard pour les observations qu'il a bien voulu me faire sur les différentes écritures des *P. Khirbet Mird*.

Fol. 1, recto (?):

- - - - -

ω ψ χ φ ψ τ
σ ρ π ο ξ ν μ
λ κ ι θ η ζ ε δ
γ β [α]

Fol. 1, verso (?):

Tropaire du Samedi-Saint

θ]άνατον αὐτοῦ

essais de plume

Titre

Τροπολόγιων σὺν θ(ε)ῳ̃

κατὰ τῶν κανῶνα

X(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ ἀναστάσεως

Fol. 2, recto:

Tropaire pascal (1)

5 ἡ[χος]

† ἐν μ[νήματι ἐτέθης]

ἐκουσίως [ὁ νεκρὸς]

προτόπλαστο[ν ἐρρύσω]

τῶν ὀδυνῶν σήμ(ερον) ο

Tropaire pascal (2)

10 ἡχ(ος) β'

αἱ θεοφ[όρ]οι μετὰ τῶν μύ-

ρων γυναῖκες τὸ θεο-

δόχον καταλαβοῦσαί

σου μνήμα τὸν μὲν δεσ-

15 οτικὸν οὐκ ἐθεάσαν-

το σ[ῶμα], τὸν δὲ ἀγγε-

λικὸν ὑπεδέξαντο λό-

γον ὅτι ἀνέστι ὁ κ(ύριο)ς δ[ω-]

[ρούμεν]ος τῷ κόσμῳ

20 τὸ μέγα ἔλεος +

Tropaire pascal (3)

]λου τοῦ στ(αύ)ρου [

]ισεν ἡμῖν οὐδ. . απα[

] . οὐ κάρπον ἀλλὰ το[

]ι τὴν ζώην.[

25]τεν τὴν του[

Fol. 2, verso :

]γ.σην

]σ δοξας†

Tropaire pour saint Athanase

]ο υς ἦχος γ

[Τὴν τ]ῶν αἰρέσεων

30 π[λά]νην κατέβαλα[ς]

καὶ τὴν ὁ[ρθό]δοξον

πίστιν ἐ[τράν]ωσας.

ὡς θεοφώρος εὐσεβῶς

ἐκήρυξας ἐν κόσμῳ

35 μίαν τὴν θεότητα

ἐν Τριάδι δοξάζεσθ-

αι, φύσιν ἀδιαίρετον

καὶ προσώποις ἀσύγχυ-

τον. Διὸ καὶ συν[ελ]θόν-

40 τες π(α)τὴρ ἡμῶν <ἐν> πίστ[ει]

τελοῦμέν σου τὴν μ[ν-]

ίμην. Πρ(ὸς) τὴν [ώραιότητα]

- - - -

2 l. τροπολόγιον 3 l. τὸν κανόνα 8 l. πρωτόπλαστον 11 l. τῶν 18 l.
ἀνέστη 41-42 l. μνήμην

Transcription rythmique des tropaires identifiés²¹:

† ἐν μνηματί ἐτέθης	7 syll. 2 accents
ἐκουσίως ὁ νεκρὸς	7 syll. 2 accents
πρωτόπλαστον ἔρρυθσῶ	7 syll. 2 accents
τῶν ὁδυνῶν σήμερον	7 syll. 2 accents
αἱ θεοφόροι μετὰ τῶν μύρων γυναικες	13 syll. 3 accents
τὸ θεοδόχον καταλαβοῦσαί σου μνημα	13 syll. 3 accents
τὸν μὲν δεσποτικὸν οὐκ ἠθεάσαντο σῶμα	13 syll. 3 accents
τὸν δὲ ἀγγελικὸν ὑπεδέξαντο λόγον	13 syll. 3 accents
ὅτι ἀνέστι ὁ κύριος δωροῦμένος	13 syll. 3 accents
τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος	9 syll. 3 accents

²¹ Le signe ˘ représente une syllabe accentuée, le signe ˉ une syllabe atone, sans considération de quantité.

Τῇν τῶν αἰρέσεῶν	6 syll. 2 accents
πλάνην κατέβαλᾱς	6 syll. 2 accents
καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον	6 syll. 2 accents
πίστιν ἑτρανώσας.	6 syll. 2 accents
ὥς θεοφῶρος εὐσεβῶς	8 syll. 2 accents
ἐκῆρυξας ἐν κόσμῳ	7 syll. 2 accents
μίαν τὴν θεοτήτα	7 syll. 2 accents
ἐν Τριᾷδι δοξαῖζεσθαί,	8 syll. 2 accents
φύσιν ἀδιαίρετον	7 syll. 2 accents
καὶ προσώποις ἁσυχνῶτον	8 syll. 2 accents
Διὸ καὶ συνελθόντες	7 syll. 2 accents
πᾶτήρ ἡμῶν ἐν πίστει	7 syll. 2 accents
τελοῦμέν σου τὴν μνήμην.	7 syll. 2 accents

Traduction:

«Recueil de tropaires, (commencé) avec (l'aide de) Dieu, pour l'office de la Résurrection du Christ Dieu.

Tu fus mis au tombeau, toi mort de plein gré, aujourd'hui tu as arraché aux douleurs (de la mort) le premier homme.

Arrivées au tombeau, réceptacle divin, les femmes théophores portant du parfum ne virent pas le corps du Maître mais entendirent une voix angélique qui leur disait: le Seigneur est ressuscité donnant au monde une grande preuve de sa tendresse.

Tu as pourfendu les égarements des hérésies et tu as exposé clairement la foi orthodoxe. Comme un théophore, tu as proclamé avec piété dans le monde qu'une seule divinité est manifestée dans la Trinité, nature indivisible et non confondue dans les Personnes. C'est pourquoi ici rassemblés, notre père, dans la foi nous célébrons ta mémoire.»

2. σὺν θεῷ (s.-e. ἀρχόμενον), formule fréquente. Cf. par ex. le début du kontakarion de Moscou (Mosq. Synod. 437, 12^e s.), fo 2: κοντακάριν σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὅλου. Ou celui du Sinaï (Sinaïticus 927, 13^e s.): κοντακάριν σὺν Θεῷ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ μηνὸς σεπτεμβρίου.

5-9. Pour le tropaire pascal Ἐν μνήματι ἐτέθης, voir l'Horologion du monastère de Grottaferrata (éd. Rome 1677), p. 51, où il est utilisé comme doxastikon.

Εἰς τὸν ὀρθρον

πεντηκοστάρια τοῦ ἀναστασίμ:

ἦχ. πλα. α. Δόξα

Ἐν μνήματι ἐτέθης ἐκουσίως ἐλεήμων,
καὶ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον ἐρρύσω τοῦ
θανάτου, σῶτηρ δόξα σοι
καὶ νῦν

Τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου ἀνυμνοῦμεν,
ζωοδότα κύριε ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς²².

7. Pour la restitution ὁ νεκρός, cf. Πεντηκοστάριον, éd. Rome 1883, p. 270: Ἐτέθης ἐν μνημείῳ * ὁ ἐκουσίως γενόμενος νεκρός * καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Ἀιδοῦ ... ἐκένωσας.

10-20. Il s'agit d'un tropeaire pascal se rapportant aux μυροφόροι γυναῖκες, cf. les parallèles suivants dans le Πεντηκοστάριον:

Dimanche de Pâques

p. 10: γυναῖκες μετὰ μύρων θεόφρονες * ὀπίσω σου ἔδραμον

Lundi de Pâques

p. 25: Ὑμνοῦμεν τὸν Σωτῆρα - — - ἀνέστη * δωρούμενος ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος

3^e Dimanche après Pâques (Dimanche des Myrophores)

p. 85: Αἱ μυροφόροι ὄρθρῃαι γενόμεναι καὶ τὸ μνημῆμά σου καταλαβοῦσαι - — - δωρούμενος ζωὴν αἰώνιον καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος

Αἱ μυροφόροι γυναῖκες τὸν τάφον σου καταλαβοῦσαι καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας τοῦ μνήματος ἰδοῦσαι

p. 93: ὅτι ἀνέστη ὁ Κύριος παρέχων τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος

p. 102: Γυναῖκες μετὰ μύρων θεόφρονες

Le mardi suivant

p. 117: Αἱ μυροφόροι ὄρθρῃαι, comme plus haut, mais avec la formule δωρούμενος τῷ κόσμῳ * τὸ μέγα ἔλεος

Le mercredi suivant

p. 122: Μετὰ φόβου ἦλθον αἱ γυναῖκες - — Ἀνέστη Χριστὸς δωρούμενος ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα ἔλεος

Les mots τὸ μέγα ἔλεος en finale des tropaires sont très fréquents, comme compléments de différents verbes.

21-27. Tropeaire pascal que je ne suis pas parvenu à restituer.

28-42. Tropeaire pour la fête de saint Athanase

Μηναῖα, éd. Rome 1899, t. V, p. 10.

Fête de saint Athanase, 2 mai.

²² Après avoir restitué le début de l'hymne au moyen du Pentécostaire, j'ai trouvé, grâce au recueil des *initia* des hymnes de E. Follieri, la référence à l'Horologion du monastère de Grottaferrata. La *Bibliographie Hellénique* par E. LEGRAND, n° 538, signale la présence de l'édition de Rome (1677) à la Bibliothèque Nationale, cote B140.

Τὸ κοντάκιον τῆς ἑορτῆς. Εἴτα κάθισμα τοῦ ἁγίου, ἥχος γ'. Τὴν ὠραιότητα.

Le texte dans les *Ménées* est écrit en longues lignes, mais des astérisques indiquent les stiques. J'ai coupé par stiques, ce qui répond exactement aux lignes du papyrus jusqu'à la ligne 10; il n'y a que les finales des lignes 11 et 12 qui font exception. Le stique de 10 syllabes et de trois accents est sûrement fautif. La coupure du parchemin est préférable. Je souligne les différences avec le parchemin.


	Τὴν τῶν αἱρέσεων	6 syll. 2 accents
	πλάνην <u>διήλεγξας</u>	6 syll. 2 accents
	καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον	6 syll. 2 accents
	πίστιν ἐτράνωσας	6 syll. 2 accents
5	ὡς <u>ιεράρχης</u> εὐσεβῆς	7 syll. 2 accents
	ἐκήρυξας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ	8 syll. 2 accents
	μίαν τὴν θεότητα	7 syll. 2 accents
	ἐν Τριάδι <u>γνωρίζεσθαι</u>	8 syll. 2 accents
	φύσει <u>ὁμοούσιον</u>	7 syll. 2 accents
10	καὶ προσώποις ἀσύγχυτον·	8 syll. 2 accents
	διὸ καὶ συνελθόντες ἐν πίστει	10 syll. 3 accents
	<u>Ἀθανάσιε</u> πάτερ	7 syll. 2 accents
	τελοῦμεν τὴν μνήμην σου	7 syll. 2 accents

Μηναια, éd. Rome 1899, t. III p. 278

Mémoire de nos Pères dans les Saints Athanase et Cyrille, archévêques d'Alexandrie, 18 janvier.

On y lit le même tropaire avec des variantes.

	Τὴν τῶν αἱρέσεων	6 syll. 2 accents
	πλανὴν <u>διήλεγξας</u>	6 syll. 2 accents
	καὶ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον	6 syll. 2 accents
	πίστιν ἐκήρυξας	6 syll. 2 accents
5	ὡς <u>θηγόρος</u> εὐσεβῶς,	8 syll. 2 accents
	<u>ιεράρχα</u> , ἐτράνωσας	8 syll. 2 accents
	<u>τρεῖς τὰς ὑποστάσεις</u> μὲν	7 syll. 2 accents
	ἐν μονάδι θεότητος,	8 syll. 2 accents
	φύσει <u>ὁμοούσιον</u>	7 syll. 2 accents
10	καὶ προσώποις ἀσύγχυτον·	8 syll. 2 accents
	διὸ καὶ συνελθόντες, <u>Ἀθανάσιε</u> ,	12 syll. 2 accents
	ἐν πίστει τελοῦμεν τὴν μνήμην σου	10 syll. 3 accents

42. πρ(ὸς) τὴν [ὥραιότητα]:  est l'abréviation de πρὸς, qui signifie «sur l'air de», et introduit les premiers mots de l'εἶρμός, la strophe modèle d'après laquelle le tropaire a été composé, c.à-d. qui a prêté son rythme (homotonie et isosyllabie) ainsi que sa mélodie. Pour la restitution ὥραιότητα, voir les indications des *Ménées*.

4. ΔΟΞΑΣΤΙΚΑ

Kh. Mird P.A.M. 22

11 × 22 cm

8^e siècle

Verso →

Planche 6

Au verso →, perpendiculairement à la lettre monastique (n° 1), on trouve une liste d'*initia* de δοξαστικά s.e. τροπάρια, c.-à-d. de tropaires se rapportant à la doxologie (cf. l. 9). Ils sont disposés par séries numérotées de deux ou trois *initia*. Plus tard ils seront rassemblés dans le δοξαστάριον, le livre liturgique qui contient soit simplement le texte, soit le texte noté de tous les tropaires appelés δοξαστικά. L'*initium* τὸν ἐν προφήταις de la l. 13 se trouve parmi les *initia* rassemblés par E. FOLLIERI, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* IV, Cité du Vatican 1963, p. 203: τὸν ἐν προφήταις ὄρον pour la fête de Jean-Baptiste. Dans *Echo's d'Orient* 21 (1922), p. 270, ce tropaire est dit doxastikon. Figurent également dans E. Follieri les *initia* οὐρανίων, τὸν ναόν σου et τὸ οὐς. Ils sont écrits dans une minuscule livresque presque illisible datant du 8^e siècle. Sur le côté gauche, une κόλλησις est visible.

+

οὐ(ρα)νίων

ἐναντίαις

τὸν ναόν σου

δοξαστικὸν) ζ'

5 ἐπήξατο

οὐ(ρα)νίαις τε..ονε..

δοξαστικὸν) ζ'

τὸ οὐς

τῇ δόξῃ δοξάζ(εται)

10 ταῖς καταχρίαις

δοξαστικὸν) η'

τὸ(ν) ἐν τῷ ὄρει διάτομος
 τὸν ἐν προφήταις
 τὸ(ν) τῷ Δα(υί)δ
 δ(οξαστικόν) θ'
 εμε
 ἐν εὐλο. . . με

5. DEUX ALPHABETS

Kh. Mird M.A.B. G3a	5,5 × 9 cm	9 ^e siècle
Kh. Mird M.A.B. G4b	13.5 × 10 cm	Planche 7

Sur le verso d'un document sur papyrus, probablement une lettre, cf. l. 9 ἐν ονόματι Χριστοῦ, deux alphabets et probablement le début d'un troparion. Un exercice d'écriture par un scribe débutant pour l'apprentissage de l'onziale ogivale penchée, caractérisée par un mélange de lettres larges et étroites, par la forme ovale des lettres *epsilon*, *théta*, *omicron*, *sigma*., par le contraste dans l'épaisseur des traits, c.-à-d. l'opposition entre pleins et déliés. La présente onziale, d'une très grande rudesse, avec dérapage (cf. les traits verticaux à la l.2 entre ξ et ο) est tardive, probablement du neuvième siècle, en tout cas plus ancienne que celle de l'alphabet du tropologion, en raison de l'épaississement des extrémités de certains traits et du maniérisme du *delta*. Pour la fonction de cette majuscule aux 8^e et 9^e siècles, cf. supra, p. 300.

- 1 [α] β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ
- 2 [φ χ] ψ ω † α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π
- 3 [ρ σ τ] υ φ χ ψ ω † τοῦ τοιαύτην ἔξο[δον]
- 4 4 lettres illisibles

*
* * *

L'intérêt paléographique de ce dossier réside dans le fait que dans un même lieu et, *grosso modo*, à la même époque (8^e-9^e siècle), on trouve groupés des écrits littéraires appartenant à l'ancien système (onziale ogivale penchée) et au nouveau (minuscule de librairie), et des écritures documentaires qui s'apparentent à la minuscule de librairie et qui l'expliquent. Ce groupement est unique car ni pour le Stoudios (à

Constantinople) ni pour le Vat. Gr. 2200 nous ne disposons d'un contexte documentaire précis. La minuscule documentaire de la lettre monastique P.A.M. 22 permet d'expliquer la minuscule livresque des tropaires pascaux du tropologion P.A.M. 1 + 2, qui en sont une stylisation. Celle, verticale, de la lettre ecclésiastique P.A.M. 8(b) est proche de la minuscule livresque du type de chancellerie (la stoudite).

Le tropologion est une copie privée, c'est-à-dire non destiné à la circulation. Serait-il déraisonnable de penser que c'est dans des milieux liturgiques que la minuscule documentaire a été utilisée pour la première fois dans la transcription de textes liturgiques nouveaux, en particulier de tropaires, qui, à la différence des textes bibliques, des textes patristiques ou des grandes liturgies, n'avaient pas subi la contrainte culturelle de l'onciale.

Comme d'autres minuscules livresques de la même époque, la «minuscule sabaïte», malgré une certaine beauté, n'a pas réussi à s'imposer. C'est la minuscule dite stoudite qui l'a emporté, pour ses qualités internes (économie et lisibilité), mais surtout parce qu'elle était la minuscule de la capitale Constantinople.

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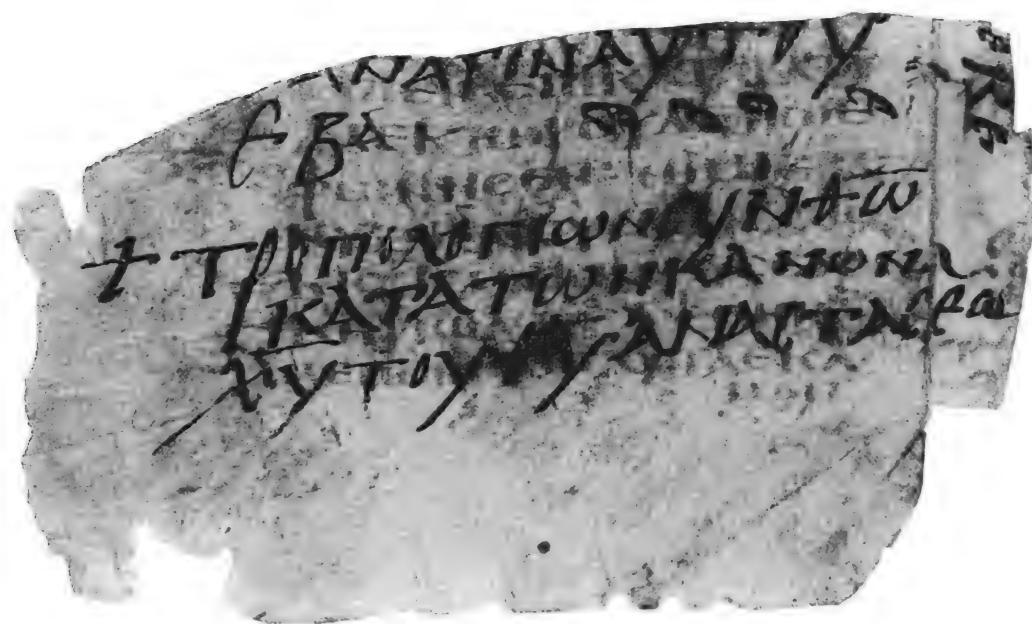
J. VAN HÆLST

Handwritten text in Cyrillic script, likely a monastic letter. The text is written on a piece of parchment that is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing and the surface irregular. The script is a cursive style typical of the 8th century. The text is arranged in several lines, with some words appearing to be in a different script or dialect, possibly indicating a mix of languages or a specific regional dialect. The overall appearance is that of an ancient, well-preserved but clearly aged document.

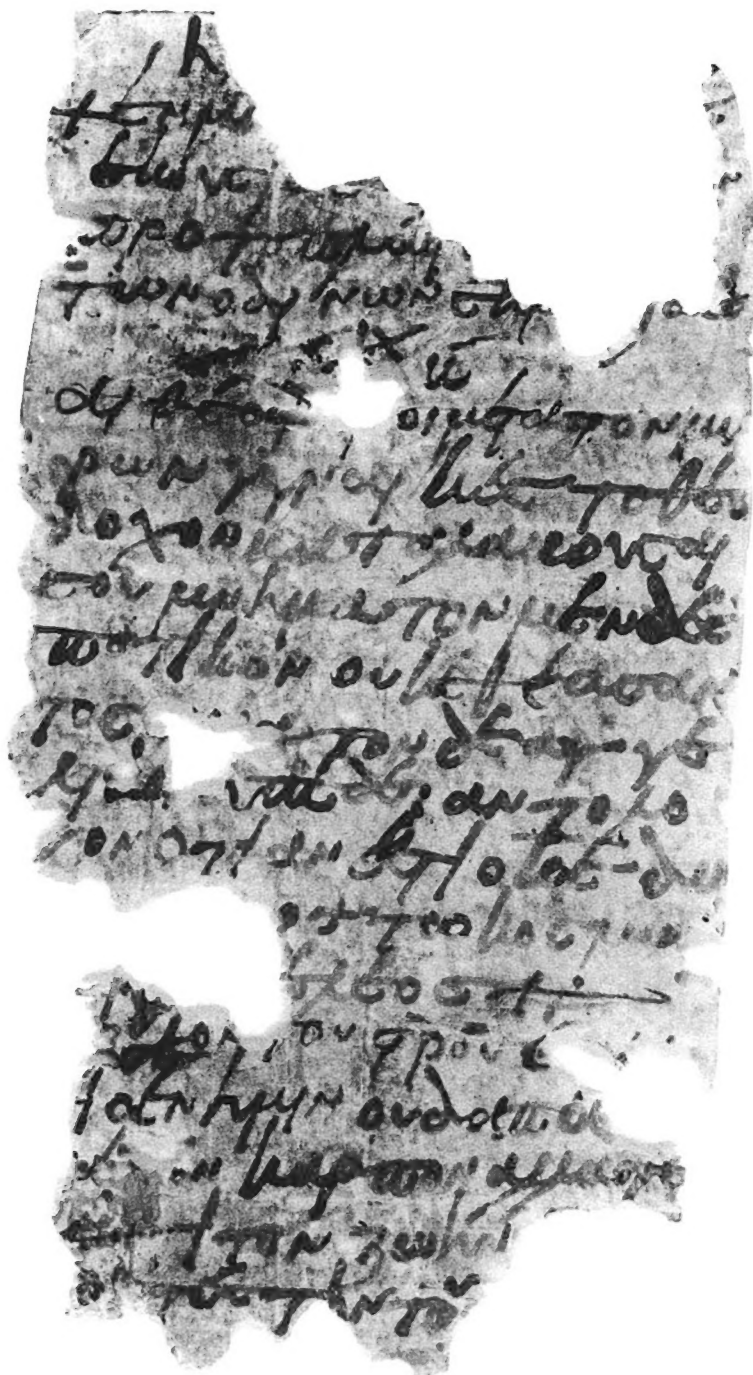
Pl. 1 - Kh. Mird P.A.M. 22 recto - Lettre monastique -- 8^e siècle

ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ
ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ
ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ
ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ ⲙⲓⲣⲁ

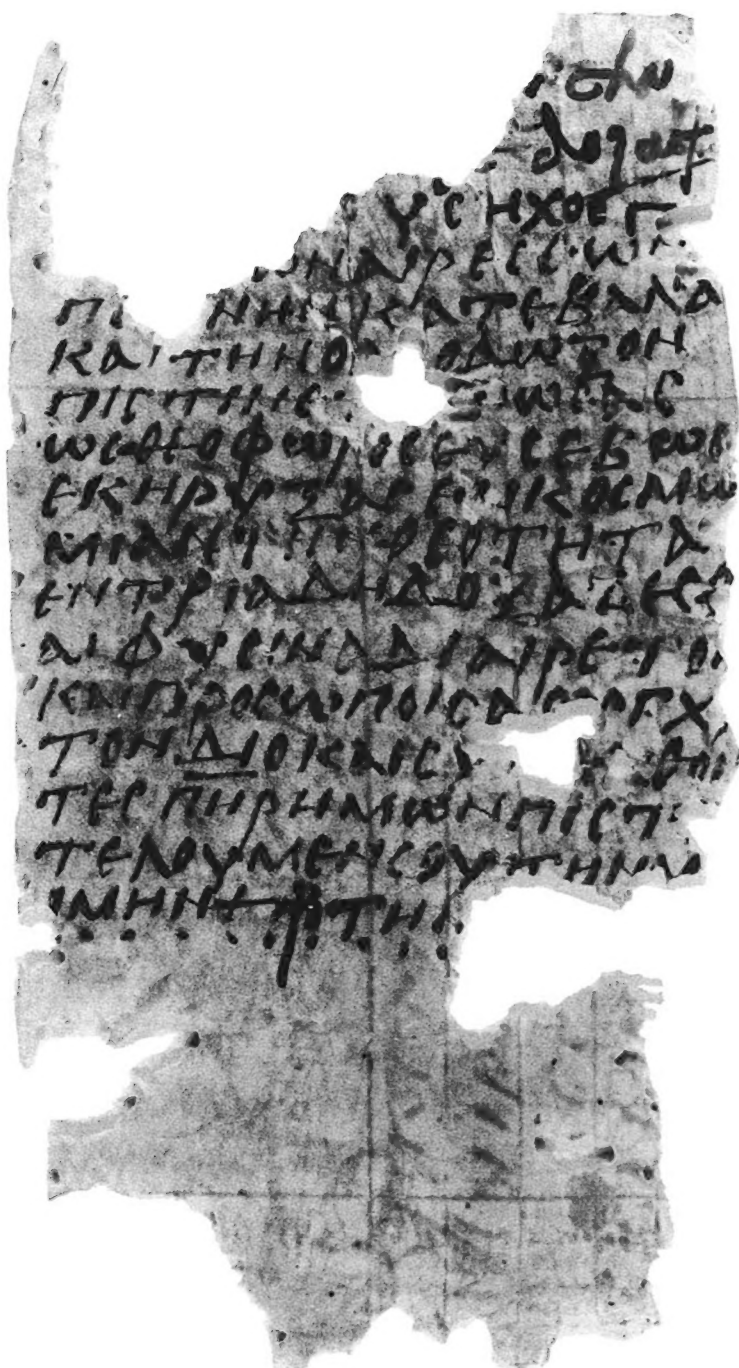
Pl. 2 – Kh. Mird P.A.M. 8(b) recto – Lettre ecclésiastique – 8^e siècle



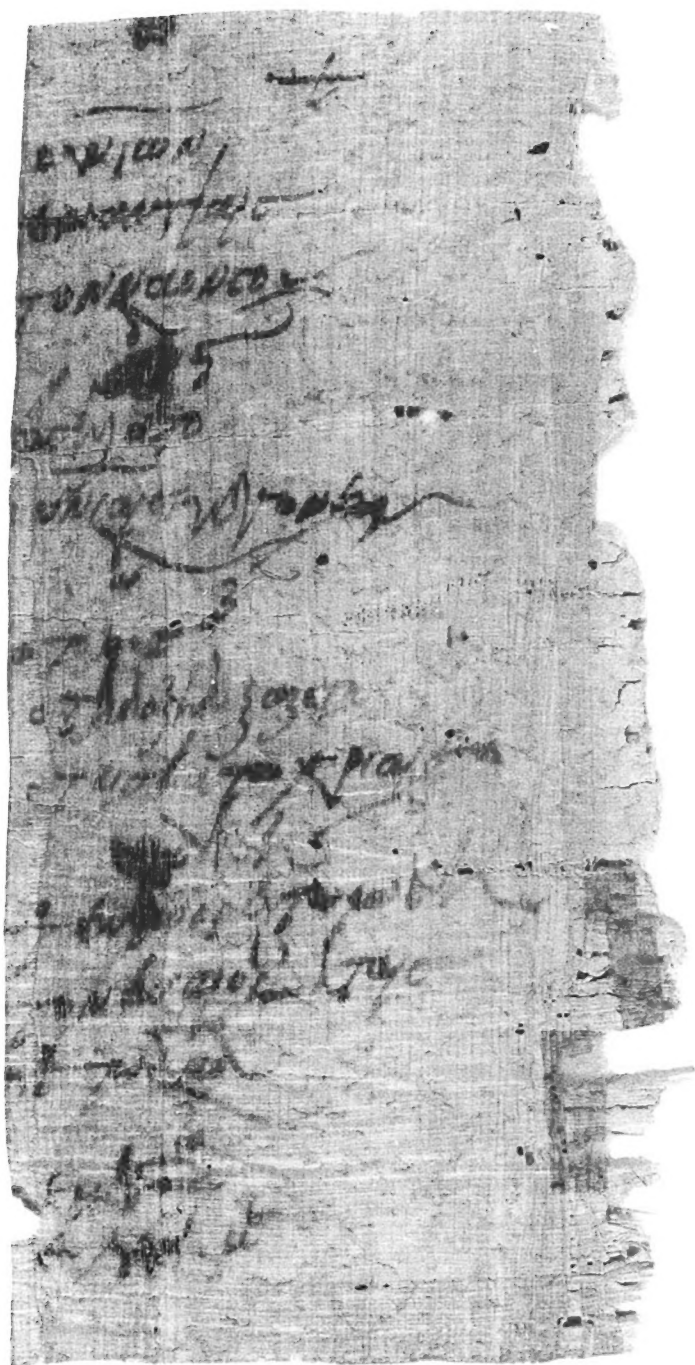
Pl. 3 – Kh. Mird P.A.M. 2 – Alphabet — Tropologion – 8^e-9^e siècle



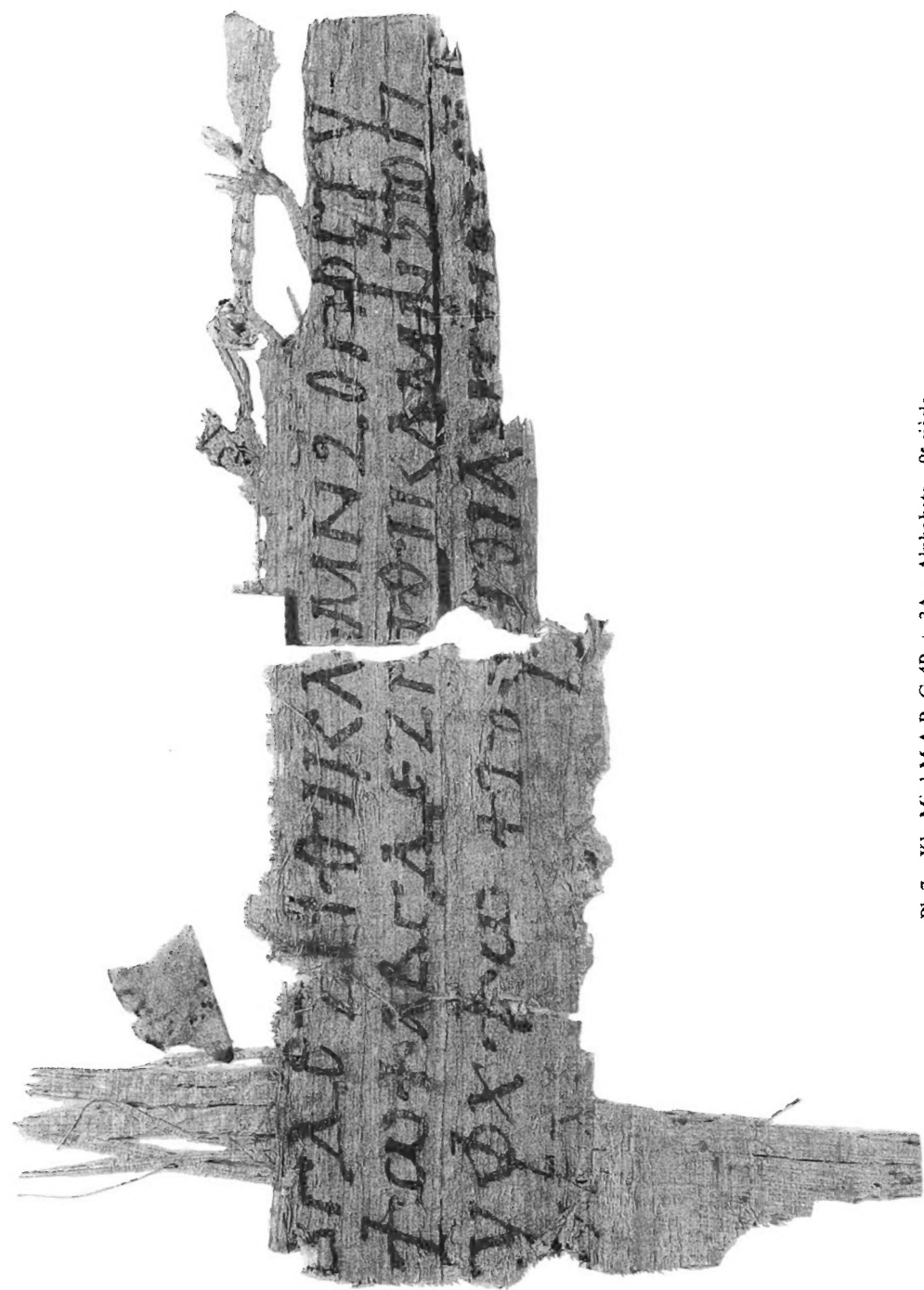
Pl. 4 – Kh. Mird P.A.M. 1 recto – Tropologion – Tropaires pascaux
8^e-9^e siècle



Pl. 5 – Kh. Mird P.A.M. 1 verso – Tropologion – Tropaire pour la fête de saint Athanase
8^e-9^e siècle



Pl. 6 – Kh. Mird P.A.M. 22 verso – Doxastika – 8^e siècle



Pl. 7 – Kh. Mird M.A.B. G 4B + 3A – Alphabets – 9^e siècle